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SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL RESEARCH

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RACIAL SEGREGATION AND SOUTHERN HIGHER EDUCATION AN EXPERIMENT IN CREATIVE DISCUSSION

HORNELL HART AND ASSOCIATES

Duke University

Controversial questions may be dealt with on four different levels: (1) fanatical crusading, (2) competitive crusading, (3) creative discussion, and (4) scientific testing of issues emerging out of discussion.

The fanatical crusader starts with the assumption that he and his partners have a monopoly on The Truth. Therefore, all who disagree with the crusader must be ignorant, stupid, or wicked. Since ignorant, stupid, and wicked ideas should not be allowed to prevail, the fanatical crusader seeks to suppress his opponents—and, in extreme cases, to liquidate them. Communists, Nazis, and Fascists provide modern examples; the Inquisition is a classical example.

The competitive crusader is also convinced that he and his partners have a monopoly on the truth. But, while they may attempt to obstruct the discussion of opposed views and to use high-pressure methods to promote their own cause, the competitive crusaders rely primarily upon such methods as debates, court hearings, majority votes in legislatures, and the conversion of doubters by education, agitation, and enthusiastic propaganda. Prohibitionists, socialists, religious evangelists, political campaigners, world-government advocates, and medical faddists provide contemporary examples.

Creative discussion (as understood in this paper) starts with the assumption that whenever people disagree each side has something to learn from the other. The creative discusser, therefore, seeks to comprehend the views of those who differ from him. He tries to understand their purposes and values, the factual evidence to which they give weight, and the mental and emotional processes by which they reach their conclusions. He seeks to discover actual and potential areas of agreement and also to bring out clearly the real issues, stated as far as possible in such form that factual and verifiable tests may be applied for the purpose of enlarging the areas of cooperation.

Scientific testing is a natural sequel of creative discussion. The issues having been formulated, the next step is to apply research methods so that agreements based on objective verification may be reached.

In terms of social interaction fanatical crusading is intellectual conflict and competitive crusading is intellectual competition, while creative discussion and scientific testing are intellectual cooperation.

THE CREATIVE DISCUSSION PROCESS

For purposes of teaching and research the present writer has for some years been experimenting with creative discussion in college courses and in conferences. These experiments have been carried out in areas of controversy about international relations, labor problems, economic issues, religious differences, racial antagonisms, and other types of disagreement. In demonstrating the technique the first step is to select a controversial question on which the class or conference group differs most widely. Usually several preliminary questions are voted on, and the one with the largest minority vote is selected so as to have a question on which there is the least uncertainty or indifference and the most equal division of opinion. Those who have voted "Yes" are then seated at the front of the room on one side; those who have voted "No" are seated at the front on the other side. Each person, in turn, is then asked to state briefly (in not more than three sentences) the reasons for his vote. The pro and con statements are alternated and each is summarized on a blackboard as it is given.

Between the first and second sessions the arguments on each side are reduced to a brief and are mimeographed. At the second session these briefs are read and amendments are invited with a view to making each brief acceptable to the side which it represents. At the third session points of actual or potential agreement between the two sides are brought out, and the underlying issues are stated as clearly and operationally as possible. The final step in the discussion process is to work out a joint action program on which at least nine tenths of the participants are willing to agree.

A DISCUSSION OF COLLEGE SEGREGATION

The central purpose of the present article is to report an experiment in creative discussion, conducted in an introductory sociology class at a university for white students in a Southern state. Enrolled in the course were twenty-three women and five men, most of whom were sophomores.

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Twenty preliminary questions were submitted. The three having the largest minority votes were as follows:

QUESTIONS

Votes		
Yes	No	?
12	13	1
13	11	2
14	10	2
		In the honor system for preventing students from cheating, do you believe that having students report other students who cheat is really a major drawback?
		Should a waiting period be required between getting a marriage license and getting married, so as to prevent hasty marriages?
		Should Negro students be allowed to attend (this) University on the same academic conditions as whites, and be admitted to the University dormitories and eating places on the same terms as whites?

Among the above the largest minority vote was twelve yeses on the honor-system question. A preference vote was also taken, however, and it was found that interest in the race question was a little greater. That, therefore, was selected for the experiment.

After the pro and con students had been seated on opposite sides at the front of the classroom and had made their alternate statements of reasons for their votes, the summaries of the stated arguments were turned over to student committees, with chairmen elected by the respective groups and secretaries appointed by the chairmen.¹ But the pro arguments were given to the con committee and the con arguments to the pro committee, each side being asked to prepare a brief of the opposed arguments which they believed would be acceptable to their opponents. The resulting briefs were as follows:

BRIEF IN FAVOR OF CONTINUED SEGREGATION IN HIGHER EDUCATION Prepared by the Students Opposed to Continued Segregation

A. Prejudice is an established fact.

1. The majority of students at this University are from the South and have this prejudice.
 - a. #A significant percentage of Northerners are also prejudiced.
 2. The stigmas against the Negroes can't be nullified in a short time.
 3. It is not practical to work on the premise of racial equality.
 4. #There are Negroes who are equally prejudiced against the whites.
- B. The personality adjustment required would be great for both Negro and white students.

¹ The chairmen of the two committees were William T. Davidson and Celia M. Reid; the secretaries were Mary Whittle and Anne Hammond. William T. Davidson and Anne Cannon were cochairmen.

#Items marked thus were inserted by the committee *favoring* segregation, after the opposed committee had drafted the brief.

1. The Negro would encounter the following problems:
 - a. Ridicule, snobbery, and isolation within the school would cause unhappiness.
 - b. Exclusion from off-campus recreational and eating facilities which are open to white students would strain relationships.
 - c. Some white students would refuse to room with Negroes, resulting in embarrassment and a deepening of segregation.
 - d. # Town Negroes and hired Negroes would cause friction with the student Negroes.
 - e. Social unhappiness would lead to academic difficulties or failure.
2. The white students would have difficult problems, caused by a difference in background and living habits.
 - a. Psychological barriers would be caused by difference in color of skin and texture of hair.
 - b. Physical uncleanliness would be disagreeable to the whites.
 - c. Friends within the University and at home, who do not approve, would scorn the white students who associated with Negroes.
 - d. # Having a Negro make a higher average would discourage some whites.
- C. Introducing Negroes would produce a bad effect on the University and the local community.
 1. The standards of the University would be lowered.
 - a. Since many white students would refuse to come to the University with Negroes, the academic and social standards would necessarily have to be lowered to get a large enough registration.
 - (1) The caliber of both white and Negro students would correspondingly be lowered.
 - b. Parental and alumni economic resources would be reduced.
 2. The long-standing segregation in the town would cause conflict, if not riot, # between the University and the town.
 - a. The local Negroes would insist on privileges that might be granted to the University Negroes.
 - b. Previously favorable state and local politics would be directed against the University.
 - c. # The Negro maids would cater to the Negro students.
- D. The alternative of having equal educational facilities would eliminate the problem of having Negroes at this University.
 1. Negroes would be happier in their own universities and would not want to attend here.
- E. Coeducation of the races would be feasible without joint use of dorms and eating places.
- F. # Such a program as this should be introduced in the North and should develop in the South by evolution.
 1. As soon as a large percentage of Negroes attended, there would be the tendency to take advantage of the whites.
 - a. In Washington, D.C., and other cities where Negroes are numerous the tendency has been to abuse the whites.

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It will be noted that, while the committee of students favoring continued segregation added a number of sentences to the brief, the statement of their position as a whole was generally acceptable as presented by their opponents. The same thing was true of the other brief.

BRIEF ADVOCATING THE ADMISSION OF NEGRO UNIVERSITY STUDENTS ON A PAR WITH WHITES

As Drafted by Students Opposed to Such Admission

- A. A significant percentage of the Negro race is as well qualified for college as whites, and we should not deny them entrance to this University.
 - 1. To be accepted they would have to meet the same requirements as whites.
 - a. Therefore a Negro admitted would be of high caliber.
 - b. The Negroes admitted would comprise only a small minority and would be eager to achieve.
 - 2. A Negro accepted at this University would have the capacity to eventually adjust himself.
 - 3. Academic competition would be stimulated between white and Negro students, raising the scholastic standards of the school.
 - 4. This University is superior to most Negro colleges and the Negro should be given the opportunity of attending.
 - 5. Any Negro who could get in would not be offensive in his health habits.
 - 6.*To refuse the Negro opportunities on the grounds of insufficient capacities is to maintain a vicious circle in which incapacity is perpetuated by lack of opportunity.
- B. Difficulties between peoples are a world-wide problem, and the United States, to lead in solving them, must solve its own difficulties between the Negroes and whites.
 - 1. Russia has seized our treatment of the Negroes as a propaganda point to prove that the U.S. is not a true democracy.
 - 2.*Universities are important instruments in furthering the breakdown of prejudice.
 - a.*Change is inevitable; we should plan for it constructively. Mere obstructionism is indefensible.
 - 3. If the movement against prejudice and discrimination was started in a Southern university it would be more effective than if it was begun in the North.
 - a. This would be especially true of a school of standing and reputation.
 - b.*This plan, put into operation, would stimulate similar movements in other schools.

*Passages marked thus were inserted by students favoring admission of Negroes, after the opposed committee had drafted the brief.

- C. Christ taught brotherhood, and as Christians we should not discriminate against any race.
 - 1. Other peoples such as Chinese, East Indians, South Americans, and Germans are accepted.
 - a. Some of these people do not speak our language or have the same customs as we do.
 - 2. The Negro is an American citizen with the same customs and language as we have.
 - 3. If the Negroes were accepted in universities it would put an end to much of the persecution and discrimination they now endure, and this would further the Christian attitude.
 - 4. Nonsegregation of Negroes in university chapels would improve Christian standards and set an example for other Southern churches to follow.
- D. The acceptance of the Negro into the University would be a broadening experience, noncoercive for all.
 - 1. We would have a better understanding of the Negro race from such close contact.
 - 2. The individual student would have a choice as to the extent of his association with the Negroes at school.
 - a. The University tries to put like persons together.
 - b. A student can change his room if he doesn't want to live with a Negro.
 - 3. We would have a better understanding of the problems the Negro faces and would be able to work toward solving these problems out of college.
 - a. We could set an example of tolerance in our own communities.
 - 4. We would benefit from the talent of the Negro.
 - 5.*Many students would be proud to attend a Southern university which was the first to fight discrimination.
 - 6.*Through segregation and discrimination whites lose the advantages of cooperation with Negroes.

A WORKING PROGRAM ON RACE RELATIONS IN HIGHER EDUCATION

After the briefs, pro and con, had been agreed upon, the class worked out a summary of agreements and also a statement of issues. For the sake of brevity those briefs are omitted here. Their chief value consisted in the transition which they provided from the opposed arguments to the development of an agreed program. As finally adopted unanimously by the class the Program included the following proposals:

- A. Work systematically to cultivate fuller understanding of race relations on the part of both races, particularly in colleges and universities.
 - 1. Promote student interracial conferences and study groups on race problems.

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2. Promote conferences in which Negro and white students may discuss together other questions besides race.
 - a. Hold experimental mixed classes, of Negroes and whites, in courses on sociology, psychology, and other subjects.
 - b. Arrange brief interchanges of professors.
 - c. Hold interracial vesper services and other nonsegregated religious activities.
 - d. Organize a planning board for progressive development of the community, with members from both races.
 - e. Have speakers from each race address students of the other race on topics not directly racial in character.
 3. Promote other interracial contacts likely to aid mutual understanding.
 - a. Have representative groups of students from white colleges visit Negro colleges, and vice versa.
 - b. Arrange interracial musical and art activities.
 - (1) Hold community concerts in which artists of both races participate.
 4. Promote moving pictures, lectures, and study courses in which members of the white race might become more acquainted with the achievements and the problems of Negroes.
 5. Present a student-faculty panel discussion of the problem of racial segregation in higher education.
 6. Promote other experiments in the creative discussion of race problems, in college courses, in religious groups, and through other promising channels.
 7. Promote wider understanding and acceptance of the basic agreements which emerge out of creative discussion of race problems.
 8. Seek wise publicity through sociological, religious, and other periodicals.
- B. Promote research programs to provide a sounder basis for interracial cooperation.
1. Take a poll of Negro students and faculty members to discover the extent to which intelligent Negroes really want to attend—or to have their friends and relatives attend—such universities as this.
 - a. Through creative discussion between Negro and white college students, find out the Negro's point of view on segregation in higher education.
 2. Take a poll of white students at this University, to discover how they would feel if Negroes were accepted here; from the obtained results find out where it would be necessary first to drive out prejudice and false ideas.
 3. By scholarly research, interviews, and opinion polls, seek out the causes underlying the demand for racial segregation in universities.
- C. Work jointly and individually to eliminate or mitigate clear-cut specific interracial injustices and to substitute understanding and good will instead of prejudice and antagonism.

1. On specifically educational lines:
 - a. Work to build up the quality of Negro schools, so that members of that race can get at least approximately as good an education as whites.
 - b. Work for the continuing expansion and improvement of facilities for Negro higher education.
 - c. Seek for openings to admit Negroes to graduate schools and to specific courses not adequately obtainable in their own colleges.
2. On civic, economic, and religious lines:
 - a. Join in promoting civic projects for the betterment of Negro opportunities.
 - b. Seek to open employment opportunities to qualified Negroes, especially to those who have earned higher degrees.
 - c. Seek adequate publicity for the achievements of Negro individuals and organizations.
 - d. Confront religious organizations with the inconsistency between their avowed ideals and their actual behavior toward Negroes.

CONCLUSION

The project described above is one of a series of experiments whose primary purpose has been to explore the possibilities of using the Creative Discussion Method in order to substitute intellectual cooperation for intellectual conflict or antagonistic competition. Admittedly, the results have been imperfect. But it is believed that this experiment, like others in the series, demonstrates the possibility of achieving at least theoretical unanimity on an action program in an area in which, initially, the participants were widely and emphatically opposed to each other. The described technique has been demonstrated as practicable for class experiments in sociology courses.

ENVIRONMENTAL STRESSES AND PERSONAL ADJUSTMENT

ERLE FISKE YOUNG
University of Southern California

The classical problem of the relation of the human constitution and the social situation has been happily restated so that we no longer speak of the role of heredity *versus* environment or even of heredity *or* environment. Rather, constitution and situation are regarded simply as two convenient aspects of a problem which are distinguished for purposes of analysis and interpretation but which, in fact, are only obverse and reverse of the same coin.

Sociologists can therefore find little to quarrel with in the findings of heredity studies, or those of psychobiology and psychiatry. For sociologists such studies provide the frame of reference within which social behavior arises and against which sociological findings must be reflected. So complex are the neural elements, so vast the number of possible permutations and combinations, and so infinite the variety of possible and actual protein compounds, for example, that there is ample constitutional basis for the most elaborate personality development.¹ The analysis of personality in molecular, or even in terms of nuclear, physics is therefore thinkable, if not achievable.

Since human beings are members of an animal species, much that can be discovered by comparative biology and psychology is valuable in the study of human behavior. One major qualification, however, needs to be made: The human equipment includes, among others, such tools as imagination, insight, and self-awareness, which for the most part

¹ "Perhaps the largest number with any physical meaning is $10^{2,783,000}$. It represents the number of pathways among the nerve cells or neurons on a brain containing a million such units connected in pairs . . . The number of neuron-to-neuron connections is much greater in the human brain which contains ten billion nerve cells instead of only a million." John E. Pfeiffer, "Brains and Calculating Machines," *The American Scholar*, 19:21, 1949-50. A more general application of this principle was stated in a "Letter" to the editor of *Scientific American* (March 1950, p. 2): "If the total number of (mathematical) ways in which body cells can, or cannot, participate in a particular function are examined. . . , the possible combinations are almost inconceivably large. . . . The total possible situations are counted in numbers perhaps as large as two raised to a power in the millions. . . . Even these possibilities can be compounded indefinitely if, for example, the number of possible actions within the cells, and actions over a period of time, instead of cell action at just one instant, are considered." For fuller comment see W. I. Thomas and Dorothy S. Thomas, *The Child in America* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1928), pp. 468-70.

other animals lack. Man has been freed in great part from reliance upon the instinctual mechanisms that play so large a role in the lives of other animal species.² Moreover, a vast elaboration of techniques of communication has enabled him to build up an almost inexhaustible fund of cultural materials, external to each individual member of the race but serving as a community memory and tool supply available to its members through education and training, conditioned only by social opportunity and by such infrequent limitations as major hereditary defects may impose on certain individuals.

The dependency of the human upon this cultural fund is now so great that when he is deprived of contact with it he is little more than an animal—a feral man, so called. He will under such circumstances display traits of individuality by which he can be differentiated from others—as animals may be individualized—but his personality remains an undeveloped potentiality.³ Fortunately, human babies are thrown at birth into a social environment and undergo at once a process of training and education that shortly develops their personalities and provides them with the tools, moods, and modes of living characteristic of the specific culture group in which they are born and reared. Thus they become Chinese, Polynesian, Sioux Indian, or Okie, as the case may be, whatever their individual genetic or psychic equipment is.

Although culture is for the new-born a thing quite external to him, his neuromuscular equipment is so rapidly and thoroughly conditioned by it that as an adult he may find it a major task to acquire another language without an accent, to eat certain alien foods without gagging, or to enter into a foreign custom different from his own without moral revulsion. In fact, so intimate a part of himself does one's own culture become that to be deprived of it is to destroy one's personality; so dependent upon his social relations is the person that the most painful punishment for most of us is enforced solitary confinement. Man is inevitably and invariably social, and to achieve personality he must participate in group life. Only in group life can his social desires for status, new experience, response, and security be satisfied. Even the animal appetites—such as food and sex—are culturally so completely

² See Ellsworth Faris, "Are Instincts Data or Hypotheses?" *American Journal of Sociology*, 18:645-64, 1921.

³ The most illuminating personal history is probably that of Caspar Hauser, concerning whose case a large literature grew up. See Paul J. A. von Feuerbach, *Caspar Hauser*, London: Simpkin and Marshall, 1834. This is the account of an individual kept isolated in a dungeon from very early childhood until about the age of seventeen.

conditioned that he finds himself satisfying them only under cover of an elaborate ritualistic and ceremonial procedure whose taboos are so imperious that their breach is apt to lead not only to conflict with other members of his social group but to pangs of conscience, guilt feelings, and mental conflicts of many varieties.⁴ The culture group provides him not only with a set of social habits, tastes, and conditioned reflexes but with complex behavior patterns involving occupational skills, avocational activities, moral and aesthetic values, and a personal and social philosophy.

Such a high degree of dominance of the social group over the individual member can be observed, however, only in small, isolated communities that have been stabilized for a long period of time.⁵ These conditions do not obtain for the vast majority of persons living in the so-called Western cultures. Population growth, migrations of whole peoples, travel by individuals, invention, discovery, wars, commerce, missionary work, political reorganization, and at present the newspaper, radio, telephone, etc., have made of the world a vast cultural melting pot, an enormous whispering gallery, and these forces already foreshadow the day when the world is to become a single moral universe. No longer does the individual live in a static, stable, visible, comprehensible, slow-moving world. No longer do the traditions, folkways, and myths of the primary tribal group solve for him the problems of the day. So vast are the forces that play upon him, so sudden the changes he faces in his daily life that old habits, neuromuscular integrations, and memories are not only inadequate to meet new situations but they may actually betray him and become his worst enemies. The ancient good has become the present evil.

It is under these conditions that the individual may find himself in conflict with his social group. As yet we cannot predict the behavior of a particular individual in this conflict situation. The intensity of the environmental stress varies with the accidents of his employment, personal contacts, local conditions, spirit of the times, psychic epidemics, as well as with the individual constitution. A few general reactions, however, may be noted.

⁴ Witness the experiences of many immigrants in assimilating into American life: for example, Rose Cohen, *Out of the Shadow* (New York: George H. Doran Company, 1918); Abraham Cahan, *The Rise of David Levinsky* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1917); and many other similar accounts.

⁵ See Pauline V. Young, *Pilgrims of Russian Town* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1932), for the case of a group in which isolated rural life and highly developed sectarianism combined to establish very effective controls over its individual members.

Most important perhaps is the fact that with intermixing of cultures has come a release of energy in the individual unknown in simpler societies. To use a Spenglerian term, man has become Faustian: his imagination knows no limits; his achievement is limited only by the restrictions a physical world places on him for the moment. The cathedral, the symphony, the calculus, relativity, nuclear physics are but the current expressions of this release from ancient mental horizons. Though technology may yet lag, the present-day youth and adult alike now travel vicariously and unhindered with Superman and Alley Oop through space and time.⁶

The daydream is at once substituted for achievement and foreruns achievement. Therein lies the tragedy for hosts of moderns: Control over an ever-expanding life has outrun the physical and neural capacities of millions of persons. Achievement is for the genius; the millions are condemned to sitting and watching, to vicarious participation, while the handful of experts play football, produce operas and symphonies, design new skyscrapers, organize new assembly lines, administer great corporations and governmental agencies, conceive, construct, and explode atomic and hydrogen bombs. Yet by every current definition of success these experts are the successful. The masses are condemned to frustration when they, by chance, seek to follow these roads to success. Organization reduces the frequency with which opportunity knocks on the individual's door, and, should she knock, the strength to seize upon her is generally lacking. Hence, hope of success lies only in inheritance, the giveaway program, the daily double, the "numbers," the marginal account or some other equally fortuitous form of white magic. Most of us lack the refinement of taste, speed of action, nicety of judgment, breadth of imagination, tenacity of purpose, volume of information, physical and nervous energy that achievement by personal merit now requires. Those who do achieve are only too apt to pay a heavy price in the form of impaired digestion, shortened lives, neuroticism, and intolerable nervous tensions, while the less sturdy escape through suicide, outright insanity, alcoholism, drug addiction, and antisocial behavior. Under such circumstances, "who-dun-it" mystery stories, science-fiction, the psychoanalytic couch, mountain and beach retreats, and a variety of rationalizing, compensating, and idealizing mental acrobatics are not only helps but frequently absolute essentials to mental sanity and continued living.

⁶ The most elaborate analysis of this aspect of modern life is, of course, Oswald Spengler, *Decline of the West*, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1928.

The failure to develop a satisfying pattern of life for the masses has resulted in an accentuation of the problem of social control. In primitive societies identification of the person with the community was so complete that little occasion for conflict arose.⁷ Violation of taboo carried with it its own punishment. With the differentiation of person and community in our society the individual's conscience frequently comes into conflict with group standards. We can say, in fact, that a certain amount of personal disorganization is an inevitable concomitant of Western cultures. The volume of such disorganization varies with the intensity of the social crises, the tradition of disorganization within the specific ecological area, the phase of the acculturation process, the degree of social mobility, and so on, in which a given person is involved.⁸ The greatest achievement of American life, perhaps, is the extent to which the reconciliation of its multitudinous cultural heritages has occurred with so comparatively little personal disorganization.

In general, three factors are at play in the social situation in which the person is in danger of failing to meet the requirements of organized social life: (1) the person himself, with his given genetic constitution and his individual and personal equipment; (2) the social situation, as culturally defined; and (3) a specific precipitating incident such as the reaching of a critical point or the entry of some social catalytic agent. Social analysis of behavior requires that all three factors be assessed.⁹

Control of behavior in a dynamic, complex, urbanized society is a problem of finding the largest common denominator in the component folkways. It must represent the common conscience as far as possible. However, unanimity is frequently impossible and a minority in opposition—largely individual and unorganized—is inevitable. Such opposing individuals may defy the majority or may seek to join it by learning and accepting its requirements. Hence, the symbols of control come to be, on the one hand, the policeman's club and, on the other, Emily

⁷ For excellent examples see Margaret Mead, *Coming of Age in Samoa* (New York: W. Morrow & Company, 1928), *passim*; also Ellsworth Faris, "The Origin of Punishment," *International Journal of Ethics*, 25:54-67, October 1914.

⁸ For a summary review of the role of these and other factors in modern life see Mabel A. Elliott and Francis E. Merrill, *Social Disorganization* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1946), revised edition, particularly Chaps. I, II, III, and XXVIII.

⁹ For a penetrating discussion of this problem as it applies to factors determining leadership see C. M. Case, "Leadership and Conjecture: A Sociological Hypothesis," in *Essays in Social Values* (Los Angeles: University of Southern California Press, 1944), pp. 60-63.

Post—pending the time when the common school, the church, and other institutions can indoctrinate the entire rising generation in a code that will become an integrated part of each person's conscience. The goal is to substitute internal automatic self-controls for external, arbitrary controls imposed by the majority upon the minority.

Clearly so wide and cursory a review of the environmental social stresses in relation to the ability of the individual to adjust has left us little opportunity to supply here the research data out of which these formulations have been developed or even to make much-needed qualifications of otherwise too bald and too sweeping generalizations. However, there is a rapidly growing body of scientific sociological data now available, and preliminary formulations can be made—all of them subject to further testing and more precise reformulation and, no doubt, to major corrections, even to rejection in numerous cases. Sociology, as in the case of other sciences, has not been able to drive an undeviating course to its scientific goals. Yet even findings arising from serendipity¹⁰ are to be preferred to those based on omphaloskepsis.

¹⁰ See Theodore Koppanyi, "Some Reflections on the Progress of Science and the Magnuson-Kilgore Bill," *Bulletin of the American Association of University Professors*, 31:685, Winter 1945.

LEISURE TIME OF THE AMERICAN HOUSEWIFE

J. ROY LEEVY
Purdue University

Our modern times of living bring to our attention more and more today the household and leisure-time activities of the American housewife. The writer's interest in sociological interpretations which he has been exposed to in his teaching and research has prompted him to do research in this field.

This study, extending over the years 1947 and 1948, deals with the household and community activities of the American housewife and attempts to answer the following questions.

1. Does the American housewife have any leisure time? If so, how much?
2. Does the size of her family have any relationship to how she spends her leisure time? To the amounts of leisure time?
3. How does the housewife spend her leisure time?
4. How do modern conveniences in the home affect the relative amounts of leisure time of the American housewife?

The data for this study consist of the information filled out in a Household Information Schedule prepared by the writer. Urban and rural housewives were personally interviewed by students of sociology under his direction.

This study included 1,250 housewives, 820 housewives living with their families in urban communities and 430 living in rural communities. The relative population of the urban communities varied from 4,000 to 135,000, according to the 1940 United States census. The rural communities ranged in population from 350 to 900. All of the rural communities were incorporated, and all of them possessed electric lights, water, and some form of sewage disposal. All of the urban and rural communities were located in five Midwestern states.

There were twenty-eight different occupational groups represented by the husbands of the housewives, twenty occupational groups in the cities and eight occupational groups in the rural communities. The following occupations were represented by the various occupational groups of the study: physicians, merchants, carpenters, brickmasons, school teachers, clerks, bankers, bank tellers, painters, public city officials, salesmen, lawyers, musicians, newspaper reporters, newspaper editors,

dentists, ministers, county officials, plumbers, truck drivers, auto repair men, plasterers, shoe cobblers, sign painters, electricians, civil engineers, farmers, and morticians.

The selection of the housewives for the study had four common factors: employed husbands, home owners, white families, and children living in the home. Ten per cent of the families living in the cities had one child; 2 per cent of the families living in the rural communities had one child. All the rest of the families either in the city or in the rural communities had two or more children. The greatest number of children in any family was six; this family lived in a rural community.

The students who assisted the writer in the collection of data were white students enrolled in a course in sociology at Purdue University and were selected by the writer on the basis of their interest in community survey work.

Leisure time was defined by the interviewers as that time in which there were no household duties that had to be performed at that particular time of the day by the housewife herself.

Creative comforts were those modern conveniences, machines, tools, etc., found in the home, such as power washers, radios, sweepers, telephones, cooking devices as gas and electric ranges.

All of the above terms were defined by the interviewers when interviewing the housewives.

In answer to our first question, Does the American housewife of today have leisure time? the results of this study indicate that the American housewife does have leisure time during the day in varying amounts.

TABLE 1
VARIOUS DAILY AMOUNTS OF LEISURE TIME OF HOUSEWIVES
(Urban and Rural Dwellers)

Amount of Time in Hours	Urban		Rural	
	No. of Housewives	Per Cent	No. of Housewives	Per Cent
½	13	1.5	0	0
1	259	31.2	200	47.6
2	236	28.4	150	35.7
3	140	18.8	40	9.5
4	70	8.6	20	4.8
5	12	1.5	10	2.2
Total	830	100.0	420	100.0

The data of Table 1 indicate the relative amounts of leisure time that housewives have. Twelve urban housewives have five hours of leisure time, and ten rural housewives have the same amount of leisure time daily. However, as can be noted from Table 1, the greater per cent of housewives, urban and rural, have one hour of leisure time daily. Of the rural housewives 47.6 per cent have one hour of leisure time; of the urban housewives 31.2 per cent have that amount of leisure time daily.

Probably the most significant difference in amounts of leisure time between urban and rural housewives is in the three-hour period of leisure time. None of the housewives had more than five hours of leisure time.

A total of 1,260 families were contacted by the interviewers of this study, but ten of the housewives were ill and were not interviewed. No attempt was made to determine the grouping of the total amounts of leisure time per day. The housewives were simply asked to state the average amounts of leisure time daily.

In attempting to answer the second problem of this study, the following analysis is presented.

TABLE 2
FAMILY SIZE OF HOUSEWIVES
(Urban and Rural)

Number of Children	Urban		Rural	
	No. of Housewives	Per Cent	No. of Housewives	Per Cent
1.....	220	26.5	43	10.2
2.....	260	30.2	245	58.2
3.....	240	28.9	13	3.1
4.....	100	12.1	85	20.2
5.....	30	2.3	46	10.9
6.....			1	.4

The data as presented in Table 2 indicate that rural housewives have larger families than do urban housewives; that is, only 2.3 per cent of the urban housewives have five children, whereas 10.9 per cent of the rural housewives have five. None of the urban housewives had six children, but one rural family did have six.

Both urban and rural housewives indicated that a greater per cent have two children; the rural percentage of housewives was 58.2 per cent contrasted with 30.2 per cent of the urban housewives that have two children, a difference of 28 per cent between rural and urban

housewives. As to ages of housewives, the range was 18 years, an urban housewife with two children, to 42 years, the oldest rural housewife with two children. The rural housewife that had six children was 34 years of age. She had had one set of twins, the only twins in the study.

An analysis of the relative amounts of leisure time of the housewives as compared with family size indicated a very close relationship. For example, those rural housewives with five children fell into the one-half hour to one hour class of leisure time, that is, 96.4 per cent did. In the case of the urban housewives with five children, 85 per cent had one-half hour to one hour of leisure time, while 15 per cent had two hours of leisure time.

Those urban housewives with three children (that is, 96.4 per cent of them) had three hours of leisure time. The rural housewives (98 per cent) with three children had two hours of leisure time.

One can say that the relationship between size of family and the relative amounts of leisure time varies significantly with size of family. The larger the family, the fewer the hours of leisure time that a housewife has. If we assume this hypothesis true, then, since rural housewives, on the average, have (in this study) larger families, they have less leisure time than do urban housewives. To verify this statement the data of Table 1 show that ten housewives of rural families have four to five hours of leisure time daily.

Our third problem deals with how the modern housewife spends her leisure time. She was asked to check activities listed on the information schedule while she was being interviewed. The activities referring to how she spent her leisure time were crocheting, knitting, reading, listening to the radio programs, club attendance, rugmaking, and recreational activities such as golf and horseback riding.

TABLE 3
MEANS FOR SPENDING LEISURE TIME

Activities	Urban		Rural	
	No. of Housewives	Per Cent	No. of Housewives	Per Cent
Club attendance.....	650	78.2	250	59.5
Knitting.....	120	14.5	100	24.2
Crocheting.....	50	6.0	30	7.2
Reading.....	830	100.0	420	100.0
Radio listening.....	830	100.0	385	90.1
Golf.....	100	12.2	6	1.4
Horseback riding.....	3	2.2	4	9.2

The analysis of how the modern housewife spends her leisure time is very interesting as the data of Table 3 indicate.

Club attendance ranks high among the urban housewives and likewise among the rural housewives. Any hard and fast conclusions drawn from this study which state that the American housewife spends the greater part of her leisure time in club work would be under serious criticism, for the writer has noted, as he has spoken before women's clubs, that they knit, mend garments, crochet, etc., while attending club. Hence, there is overlapping of activities in this matter of how she spends her leisure time. Also this study shows that 100 per cent of the modern housewives—urban and rural—do their reading during their leisure time. All the urban housewives spend a part of their leisure time in radio listening. Recreational activities such as golf and horseback riding were not pursued by a great number of housewives, either urban or rural, as indicated by the data of Table 3.

There were other leisure-time activities listed by some of the housewives. For example, three urban housewives listed painting, and two listed flower gardening. Four rural housewives listed vegetable gardening as a leisure-time activity, eight listed quilting and rugmaking, and two listed visiting neighbors.

In the analysis of how the modern housewife spends her leisure time she was also asked to list the clubs attended during her leisure time. The results indicate that 50.2 per cent of the urban housewives spend part of their leisure time in home economics clubs, while 93.2 per cent of the rural housewives are members and attend home economics clubs. This study does not attempt to analyze club membership and club attendance. It is possible that some housewives are members of such clubs but do not regularly attend the meetings.

Such women's clubs as music clubs seem to be considered a means of spending leisure time by 38 per cent of the urban housewives as well as by 19.2 per cent of the rural housewives.

There were other women's clubs, such as drama and art clubs, listed by 12.4 per cent of the urban housewives, who indicated that they spent a part of their leisure time with such clubs.

The League of Women Voters ranked high with urban housewives as a leisure-time activity, for 46.2 per cent so indicated, while only 4.2 per cent of the rural housewives listed the League of Women Voters as a leisure-time activity. One possible answer to the difference between urban and rural housewives in listing such an organization as a leisure-

time activity could be that probably the League of Women Voters is more highly organized in urban than in rural communities.

There is a possibility in the listing of women's clubs for a leisure-time activity that some women held membership in more than one club; hence, there is some overlapping in club attendance for housewives.

The fourth question was the relationship between modern conveniences and the use of leisure time. Any such question involves most nearly a separate study within itself, for it is confronted with many variables which require a great deal of detail study and analysis. At any event, we have attempted to partially analyze this question.

TABLE 4

MODERN CONVENIENCES OF THE AMERICAN HOUSEWIFE

Kind of Conveniences	Urban		Rural	
	No. of Housewives	Per Cent	No. of Housewives	Per Cent
Power washer.....	800	96.2	402	95.3
Power ironer.....	125	15.06	84	20.0
Radio.....	830	100.00	420	100.0
Electric sweeper.....	802	96.3	386	89.2
Automatic washer.....	82	9.2	9	2.1
Electric refrigerator.....	812	97.4	302	78.4
Electric range.....	602	76.2	126	30.0
Gas range.....	103	12.6	26	4.6
Deep freezer.....	32	4.4	19	4.2
Television.....	102	12.2	6	1.2
Electric toaster.....	814	94.8	402	96.2
Mixmaster.....	84	10.2	103	22.3
Electric hot water.....	603	73.4	205	51.2
Pressure cooker.....	126	15.6	36	7.2

Any relationship that may exist between the owning of a particular household convenience and use of leisure time according to the data in Table 4 would be more or less speculative. One can observe that American housewives, both urban and rural, have in their homes a variety of creative comforts. Eighty-two per cent of the urban housewives have twelve of the creative comforts listed in Table 4. This per cent of urban housewives had three hours of leisure time daily, while 19 per cent of the rural housewives possessed twelve of the same creative comforts and 8 per cent had three hours of leisure time daily.

Nine per cent of the urban housewives had in their homes fourteen of the creative comforts listed in Table 4, and 4 per cent of the rural housewives had the same creative comforts. Only 6 per cent of the urban housewives who possessed fourteen creative comforts had five hours of leisure time daily, and 2 per cent of the rural housewives who possessed fourteen creative comforts had five hours of leisure time daily.

On the other hand, 16 per cent of the urban housewives who had ten creative comforts also had five hours of leisure time daily, and 5 per cent of the rural housewives who possessed ten creative comforts had five hours of leisure time daily. However, 8 per cent of the urban housewives had all of the creative comforts listed in Table 4, and only thirty-two of the urban housewives, or 4.4 per cent, had four hours of leisure time daily. Comparing the rural housewives with the urban housewives in respect to four hours of leisure time, this group of women possessed nine of the creative comforts listed in Table 4.

The results of this study reveal many interesting facts about the American housewife, whether she lives in the urban or the rural community. These facts may be summarized as follows:

1. All American housewives have leisure time at their disposal. This leisure time varies from one-half hour to five hours and the urban housewives have more leisure time than do rural housewives.
2. Housewives have leisure time in the afternoon and evening.
3. Size of family has little relationship to the amount of leisure time that some rural housewives have at their disposal. On the other hand, this study indicates that urban housewives have smaller families and do have more leisure time at their disposal.
4. Both urban and rural housewives have a variety of ways of spending their leisure time. Club activities seem to predominate in this respect.
5. The American housewife, both urban and rural, possesses a wide variety of creative comforts in her home. Since the majority of urban housewives possess in their homes a greater number of creative comforts than do the majority of rural housewives, and the urban housewives on the whole have greater amounts of leisure time, one can say that the greater number of creative comforts in a home gives the urban housewives more leisure time than the rural housewife.

In conclusion, the writer wishes to say that this study does not attempt to interpret or analyze the abilities of housewives in budgeting their time for doing their household activities, which may affect the relative amounts of leisure time that each housewife has daily. Some housewives, no doubt, employ maids or servants to assist them in household activities,

which would also affect the relative amounts of leisure time that each would have daily. One always learns new ways of doing a study or new ideas relative to the interpretation of the data revealed in such a study. Hence, the writer suggests that if he were directing a study again he probably would attempt to investigate the abilities of housewives in budgeting their time relative to household activities, as well as to study the relationship of maid service to the use of leisure time.

Probably this study will interest the reader in making similar studies or doing some aspects of this one in more detail.

INFORMATION SCHEDULE FOR LEISURE TIME OF THE AMERICAN HOUSEWIFE

Directions: Please fill in all blanks, underscore all words or phrases which will answer the statements or questions below. Leisure time in this study is defined as the time that a housewife has at her disposal in excess of the time used in her household activities during the twenty-four-hour day. We are interested in trying to answer the following questions.

1. Does the housewife (urban and rural) have any leisure time? If so, how much?
2. How does she spend her leisure time?
3. Does the size of her family affect the amounts of her leisure time?
4. What relationship is there between the amount of leisure time and the number of creative comforts (modern conveniences) that she has in her home?

I. The community

1. I live in an urban, a rural community.
2. I am a member of the following organizations and attend their meetings: Home Economics Club, Art Club, Music Club, Home Bureau, League of Women Voters, A.A.U.W., P.T.A., B.P.W., Drama Club, Garden Club, others.....

II. Family size

1. I have 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, more children in my family.

III. Leisure time in various amounts

1. I have on an average during the day (24 hours) $\frac{1}{2}$ hr., 1 hr., 2 hrs., 3 hrs., 4 hrs., 5 hrs., 6 hrs., or more.....of time in excess of my household activities.

IV. Creative comforts (modern conveniences of the home)

1. Check any of the following that you have in your home:

power washer	gas range
automatic washer	electric range
ironer	pressure cooker
vacuum cleaner	telephone
carpet sweeper	dish washer
radio	vegetable ricer
television	others.....

V. How I spend my leisure time:

reading	crocheting	painting
writing letters	club attendance	playing golf
listening to the radio	weaving rugs	swimming
observing television	visiting the sick	horseback riding
knitting	visiting neighbors	auto riding
fishing	flower gardening	vegetable gardening
	others.....	

ARE MINISTERS QUALIFIED FOR MARRIAGE COUNSELING?

ANDREW L. WADE AND JOEL V. BERREMAN
University of Oregon

The extreme scarcity of persons specifically trained for marriage counseling and engaging in it as a career has thrown a large measure of responsibility for counseling upon members of other professions. Among these probably none receive a greater share of the calls for help than ministers. With the growing interest in counseling there has been a sharp interest in the professional training and qualifications which marriage counseling requires and a disposition on the part of some to apply rigid tests of competency as is done in medicine, law, and teaching.

Suggestions of a number of writers since the early 1930's regarding the requisite training and qualifications for counseling culminated in 1948 in the report and recommendations of a joint committee of the American Association of Marriage Counselors and the National Council on Family Relations. This committee insisted that those who enter the field of marriage counseling "whether physician, clergyman, psychiatrist, or social worker, require a common body of scientific knowledge, techniques and qualifications."¹ These requirements the committees embodied in a set of professional standards which were considered essential for effective counseling.

This paper is a report of a study of 135 Protestant ministers who engage in marriage counseling to determine how their training and qualifications compare with the standards set up by the above committees.

METHOD OF STUDY

Questionnaires were mailed to all full-time Protestant ministers in four Oregon cities. The 135 completed questionnaires used in this study constituted a 48.4 per cent return. Five additional replies were ruled out because repliants indicated that they did no marriage counseling. Replies were, of course, anonymous.

In addition to general information regarding amount of counseling done and practices followed, the questionnaire was specifically designed to elicit information regarding seven of the ten qualifications set up

¹ "The Committees Make Their Contributions: Marriage and Family Counseling," *Marriage and Family Living*, 11:5-6, Winter 1949.

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by the committees mentioned. These qualifications were as follows:²

1. Academic Training

a. Every marriage counselor shall have a graduate or professional degree from an approved institution as a minimum qualification. This degree shall be in one of the following fields: education, home economics, law, medicine, nursing, psychology, religion, social anthropology, social work, and sociology.

b. Whatever the field of major emphasis, there shall be included accredited training in: psychology of personality development; elements of psychiatry; human biology, including the fundamentals of sex anatomy, physiology and genetics; sociology of marriage and the family; legal aspects of marriage and the family; and counseling techniques.

2. Professional Experience and Qualifications

a. The candidate shall have had at least three years of recognized professional experience subsequent to obtaining his degree. In addition, he shall have had actual experience as a clinical assistant in marriage counseling under approved supervision.

b. A candidate's qualifications shall include:

(1) Diagnostic skill in differentiating between the superficial and the deeper level types of maladjustment, and the ability to recognize when the latter type requires referral to other specialists.

(2) A scientific attitude toward individual variation and deviation, especially in the field of human sex behavior, and the ability to discuss sexual problems objectively.

3. Personal Qualifications

a. The candidate shall possess personal and professional integrity in accordance with accepted ethical standards.

b. The candidate shall have an attitude of interest, warmth, and kindness toward people, combined with a high degree of integration and emotional maturity.

c. The personal experience of marriage and parenthood is a decided asset.

Academic training, professional experience, clinical internship, and experience of marriage and parenthood are matters of factual information which it is believed were obtained with a high degree of accuracy.

Diagnostic skill and scientific attitude are much more difficult to measure. In the absence of a standard test of these qualifications the writers constructed measuring instruments for the purpose. As these instruments have not been adequately standardized, the results obtained by them must be considered inconclusive. It is believed, however, that they give a rough measure of the things the committees had in mind.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 5-6.

No measures of personal and professional integrity, of attitudes of interest, warmth, and kindness toward people, or of integration and emotional maturity were attempted in this survey.

SURVEY FINDINGS

Counseling practices. This study confirms the belief that most ministers do engage in marriage counseling. Only five replies were from ministers who did none at all. Eighty-seven per cent have been counseling for three or more years, and 61 per cent for more than ten years.

The amount of counseling done by most of them is rather small. Eighty per cent estimated that they spend less than five hours a week counseling, and 71 per cent that they counsel less than five persons per month. Only 6 per cent set aside specific office hours for marriage counseling.

Replies indicate that only 19 per cent keep any case records, and 61 per cent estimate that less than a tenth of their couples return for a second conference. To many of them marriage counseling appears to mean chiefly a premarital conference rather than extended therapy for the solution of marital conflicts.

Professional interest in this field is shown by the fact that 85 per cent have read one or more books on counseling within the year and 95 per cent have read one or more journal articles on the subject. Fifty-two per cent estimate they have read six or more articles. On the other hand, none were members of the American Association of Marriage Counselors, and 77 per cent stated they had never heard of that organization.

Academic training. A great variety of degrees from a variety of institutions were listed by respondents to this questionnaire. All but two of these were in the field of religion. In determining which of these degrees were to be accepted as of professional level and which institutions were "approved" ones the standards of the American Association of Theological Schools were used. That association states, "An accredited theological seminary or college requires for admission to candidacy for its degree the degree of bachelor of arts from a college which is approved by one of the regional accrediting agencies or the equivalent of such a degree."³ By this criterion only those who have earned bachelor's degrees from accredited colleges and subsequent degrees of B.D. or S.T.B. are considered to have met this requirement.

³ Gould Wickey and Ruth E. Anderson, *Christian Higher Education, a Handbook for 1940* (Washington, D.C.: Council of Church Boards of Education, 1940), p. 304.

By this test fifty-three ministers, or 39.3 per cent of the sample group, met the committee standards. Seventeen per cent listed only bachelor's degrees and 25 per cent listed no degrees.

In regard to the specific courses listed as essential there is a general lack of training in the group studied. Only four (3 per cent) of the sample had training in all six fields, and thirty-two (23.7 per cent) had no training in any of these courses. These findings suggest a serious lack of course offerings in fields essential to effective counseling in institutions where ministers get their training.

Professional experience and qualifications. Professional experience was here interpreted as experience in which counseling played a part. By this criterion 87 per cent of the respondents were qualified on this point. Clinical internship where experience in marriage counseling under supervision was obtained was reported by only seven ministers, and these reported internships ranging in duration from less than a month to more than two years. The shorter periods could probably not be considered adequate by most professional standards, but, even accepting them as such, 94.4 per cent of the ministers fall short of the committees' standards in this respect. Here again training opportunities appear to be lacking. Sixty-three respondents stated that they had never had an opportunity for such an internship. Probably many more could have checked this item, for the Federal Council of Churches in its report, *Clinical Pastoral Opportunities in 1949*, lists no such opportunities for internship in marriage counseling.⁴

Diagnostic skill. The evident importance of skill in diagnosis to any type of counseling led the writers to attempt a measure of this skill despite the lack of any previously standardized measuring device. The test used consisted of eight short paragraph descriptions of cases considered typical of a variety of normal and abnormal behaviors likely to confront a counselor. These case descriptions were drawn from two sources: J. E. Wallace Wallin, *Minor Mental Maladjustments in Normal People*,⁵ and S. Mouchly Small, *Symptoms of Personality Disorder*.⁶

Respondents were asked to indicate whether (a) the case showed no abnormality, (b) the symptoms were those of mild neurosis not requiring deep therapy, (c) the symptoms were serious enough to require referral to a psychiatrist. The correct diagnosis in each case was that

⁴ Paul B. Maves, *op. cit.*, Mimeographed Memorandum, Department of Pastoral Services, Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, 1949.

⁵ Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1939.

⁶ New York: Family Association of America, 1944.

given in the source from which cases were drawn. The score was simply the number of cases diagnosed correctly. Only three ministers were able to diagnose correctly all eight cases, while less than half (47.4 per cent) were able to diagnose correctly five or more cases.

It is not easy to evaluate these results. It seems to the writers that a competent counselor should be able to diagnose accurately all of the cases and that failure in more than three out of eight is certainly inadmissible. By this criterion 52.6 per cent of the respondents fail to qualify.

As might be expected, it was found that a statistically significant relationship existed between training in psychology and psychiatry and score in the test, a fact which provides some support for the validity of the test.⁷

Scientific attitudes. Here again no standard measuring instrument was available and a tentative one was constructed. It consisted of an attitude scale constructed and scored by a simplified version of the well-known Thurstone method.⁸ Fifty-six statements were formulated which were believed to represent a range of attitudes from objectivity to strong bias regarding various deviant sex behaviors. These statements were rated by twenty-seven staff members and advanced students in psychology and sociology. Following the Thurstone method, thirteen statements were selected for use as a test and scale values were assigned on the basis of judges' ratings. Scoring also followed standard practice. Thus, the only variation from the Thurstone method believed to be of importance was in the use of a smaller number of statements and fewer judges than is customary.

On a possible range from 0.00 to 5.00, low score denoting high degree of objectivity, the ministerial sample made a mean score of 2.64 with a standard deviation of .82.

For purposes of comparison the same attitude test was administered to seventy-nine teachers enrolled in summer session classes at the University of Oregon. The teachers made an average score of 2.18, which is

⁷ This relationship was tested by the chi-square method and was found to be significant on the 1 per cent level. This means that the relationship in this sample would occur by chance less than once in 100 times. For discussion of this method see E. F. Lindquist, *Statistical Analysis in Educational Research* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1940), p. 42.

⁸ L. L. Thurstone and E. J. Chave, *The Measurement of Attitudes*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1929.

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a lower score, and hence shows greater objectivity than the score made by the ministers. The difference, tested by the chi-square method, was found to be statistically significant on the 1 per cent level.

No categorical statement can be made concerning the score on this test which should be considered adequate. Complete objectivity would presumably be ideal but scarcely to be expected. However, if mid-point on the scale, i.e., a score of 2.50, be taken as an acceptable minimum—a score surpassed by over 83 per cent of the teachers tested—then sixty-seven ministers, or 52 per cent of the sample, meet the standard. The writers feel that this is a very modest requirement.

The final qualification checked was that of personal experience of marriage and parenthood. On it the ministers showed up at their best, all but two being married and 93.3 per cent being parents.

A summary of the above findings is presented in Table 1.

TABLE 1
**NUMBER AND PER CENT OF MINISTERS MEETING MINIMUM
 STANDARDS FOR MARRIAGE COUNSELORS**

Requirement	Number Meeting Requirement	Percentage Meeting Requirement
<i>Academic Training</i>		
A graduate or professional degree.....	53	39.3
Training in all six prescribed courses.....	4	3.0
<i>Professional Experience and Qualifications</i>		
Three years of counseling experience.....	114	87.1
Clinical internship in marital counseling.....	7	5.6
Diagnostic skill (5 or more correct diagnoses out of 8 cases).....	55	47.4
Scientific objectivity (score: 0.00-2.50).....	67	52.3
<i>Personal Qualifications</i>		
Personal and professional integrity.....	Not tested
An attitude of interest, warmth, and kindness toward people.....	Not tested
Integration and emotional maturity.....	Not tested
Experience of marriage and parenthood.....	126	93.3
Number meeting all requirements tested.....	0	00.0
Number meeting 5 or more requirements tested.....	15	11.1

The table shows that none of the ministers in the sample met all of the seven requirements on which they were tested. Even if qualifying on five of the requirements be arbitrarily accepted as a "passing" grade, only 11.1 per cent of the clergymen may be said to qualify.

Assuming that the standards used in this survey are, as their authors and the organizations they represent believe, necessary for effective marriage counseling, the conclusion is inescapable that nearly 90 per cent of the ministers studied are performing a function for which they are not qualified. This conclusion is similar to those arrived at by two other investigators. Russel L. Dicks estimates, "Eighty-five to ninety per cent of the clergy today are doing little effective . . . personal counseling of any kind."⁹ Oliver M. Butterfield states, "Possibly 20 per cent of the Protestant ministers today are doing more or less effective work in guidance for marriage and family life."¹⁰

The need for expert counsel in this area of human relations is believed by most students of the family to be increasingly urgent. If the minister is to continue to attempt to meet this need he would seem to have a social responsibility to prepare himself for this work. An even greater responsibility rests upon the institutions which provide theological training to expand their offerings and raise their requirements in this field.

⁹ Russel L. Dicks, *Pastoral Work and Personal Counseling* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1947), p. 4.

¹⁰ Oliver M. Butterfield, "Family and Marriage Counseling by Protestant Ministers," *Parent Education*, 3:32-33, 1936.

TELEVISION AND THE FAMILY

EDWARD C. McDONAGH

With the Assistance of

Richard Nugent, Nick Massaro, Bruce Pringle,
William Lahey, Leroy Just, and Marcia Eck Lasswell
University of Southern California

The wide acceptance of television in the American home offers sociologists an opportunity to determine how a technological innovation may modify certain family activities and practices. Pilot studies of television have given rise to contradictory claims regarding the alleged benefits or disadvantages derived from the possession of this medium of entertainment. A rather common weakness in previous studies of television in the home originated from inadequate sampling methods used to gather primary data. These early studies have been concerned with groups of people who represented neither a particular class nor any specific geographical area. The present study of television has attempted to correct this common error by surveying a specific community in the Southern California area. For purposes of anonymity this community has been given the name of Sunville. It might be added that considerable time was devoted to the selection of a community representative enough to be of some significance for wider generalization.

The sample. There are approximately 800 families residing in Sunville. A map was drawn indicating the areas in the town and the number of houses in each area. The interviewers selected every fifth house with a television aerial. After completing the interview, the investigator interviewed the family in the adjacent or nearest house without television. In this way experimental (the television home) and control (non-television home) groups were developed.

An inspection of Table 1 indicates that television and nontelevision groups proved to be almost perfectly matched in the factors of educational status and chronological age. However, the significant difference (critical ratio 2.5) between the two groups in the number of children would seem to disclose that the larger family tends to have television rather than the smaller family.

In Table 2 a very wide range of occupational callings in both television and nontelevision groups is presented. This spread of occupations represents both rural (i.e., dairyman and plowman) and urban (i.e., machinists and body fender repairman) jobs and a range of social status

TABLE 1
EXPERIMENTAL AND CONTROL GROUPS COMPARED
FOR SELECTED FACTORS

	Television	Nontelevision
Educational status		
Husband	10.3 years of school	10.4 years of school
Wife.....	10.5 years of school	10.6 years of school
Chronological age		
Husband	42.56	42.18
Wife.....	40.58	40.51
Number of Children*	1.8	1.3
Length of time of television ownership	10.4 months	

*CR for difference between the two groups on the number of children is significant—2.5.

TABLE 2*
OCCUPATIONAL CLASSIFICATIONS

Occupations	Television Group		Nontelevision Group	
	Husband	Wife	Husband	Wife
Professional and managerial				
(including proprietors)	8	1	6	2
Clerical and sales	4	3	6	2
Service	0	1	2	1
Agriculture	12	0	25	0
Skilled	27	0	19	0
Semiskilled	16	1	7	0
Unskilled	8	1	12	0
Housewife		82		80
Unclassified	2		2	
Retired	5		8	
Unemployed	3		4	
Armed forces	2		0	

*Occupations classified according to *Dictionary of Occupational Titles*.

from laborer to banker. It would seem from the data in the above table that the television families are in occupations that customarily reflect a higher status than those of the nontelevision group.

Questionnaire. A questionnaire was developed cooperatively by the researchers to focus attention on the changes television may be responsible for in designated families. A pilot questionnaire was pretested for ambiguity and ease of scoring. Certain modifications were made and finally an acceptable questionnaire was designed for the study. The interviewing was done during the first two weeks of May 1950.

Interviewing. Trial interviews disclosed a widespread interest in television and eagerness on the part of respondents to talk about their experiences in this connection. In Sunville each of the selected television families was contacted and then interviewed. When the interview was almost complete the interviewer asked the respondent the date the television set was installed. He then went to the nearest nontelevision house and sought the cooperation of the interviewee. The same questions regarding activities were asked the nontelevision group in reference to a span of time that coincided with the length of time the previous family had had television in the home. Hence, this method precisely matched the time element in the two groups of families.

Statistical interpretation. In order to be certain that the findings are not the mere reporting of chance occurrence, a common test of significance was calculated, the critical ratio. Thus for the specialized reader the critical ratios may be found in the footnotes of each table reported on in the main body of the study. A statistically significant difference may be defined as one which would occur only rarely by the operation of chance as indicated by well-accepted tables of probabilities.¹ No differences will be discussed, however, unless these differences have been statistically tested beyond any reasonable doubt. Any exception to this rule will be called to the attention of the reader.

THE FINDINGS

In reporting the study each question will be presented, then followed by a table setting forth a summarized statement of the data. In addition, some comment on the significance of certain tabulations will be presented. In a few instances the data will be characterized by verbatim comments of the respondents.

1. Since the ownership of your television set have you had more, less, or the same number of visitors to your home?²

¹ A critical ratio (CR) of 2 or higher means that the differences found between the two groups could have occurred less than 5 times in 100 by chance.

² As indicated earlier the nontelevision family answered this and subsequent questions concerning family activities in reference to a span of time that coincided with the length of time the previous family had had television in the home.

TABLE 3*
NUMBER OF VISITORS

	Television		Nontelevision	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
More.....	45	47.9	6	6.4
Less.....	8	8.5	27	28.7
Same.....	41	43.6	61	64.9
	94	100.0	94	100.0

*CR "more" 6.4
CR "less" 3.6
CR "same" 2.9

The above table indicates that almost 5 out of 10 television owners state that they have had more visitors, whereas less than 1 in 10 nontelevision respondents admit the same trend. On the other hand, more nontelevision families reported having less visitors than did the families of Sunville who owned television sets.

A television respondent characterized the visitation problem in the following way: "Sometimes I get tired of the house being used as a semiprivate theater. I have almost turned the set off when some people visit us." Another family made use of the attractiveness of television for an interesting reason—the mother commented, "Our boy was always watching television, so we got him a set just to keep him home."

2. Since purchasing your television set have you gone visiting more, less, or the same?

TABLE 4*
CHANGE IN VISITING ACTIVITIES

	Television		Nontelevision	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
More.....	4	4.2	24	25.5
Less.....	63	66.3	16	17.0
Same.....	28	29.5	54	57.5
	95	100.0	94	100.0

*CR "more" 4.1
CR "less" 6.86
CR "same" 3.9

While only an insignificant number of television families reported doing more visiting, over one fourth of the nontelevision families re-

ported more visiting. On the other hand, two thirds of the television families state that they do less visiting now, while one sixth of the matched nontelevision families report a decline in this activity.

A television respondent typified the decline in visiting with the remark, "Family now stays home all the time and watches same programs and so has similar interests. Turn it on at 3 p.m. and watch until 10 p.m. We never go anywhere." Another television owner pointed out, "My husband was awfully restless and never wanted to stay at home, but now he wants to watch the sport contests on T.V." A somewhat similar comment, "That's all he wants to do is to sit and watch television—I would like to go out more often."

3. Since the purchase of your television set are you reading more, less, or the same?

TABLE 5*
READING ACTIVITIES

	Television		Nontelevision	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
More.....	1	1.1	6	6.4
Less.....	63	67.0	23	24.5
Same.....	30	31.9	65	69.1
	94	100.0	94	100.0

*CR "more" 1.9

CR "less" 5.8

CR "same" 5.1

More than two thirds of the television respondents admit that they are reading less, whereas less than one fourth of the nontelevision families disclose the same pattern. Television would seem to have definitely affected the reading habits of its owners. This is an interesting finding when it is recalled that the television and nontelevision families are matched almost perfectly for age and educational status.

The radio has been the companion to the reader, but television has terminated this union. Many people have commented on the way television monopolized their attention, but at least one respondent was able to turn this characteristic to her advantage. This particular housewife disclosed, "I am able to do more reading now with television. I can read in peace while the rest of the family gaze at television. The children do not pester me while I read."

4. Since the ownership of your television set have you participated more, less, or the same in sport activities?

TABLE 6*
SPORT ACTIVITIES

	Television		Nontelevision	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
More.....	1	1.1	7	7.4
Less.....	37	38.9	21	22.3
Same.....	57	60.0	66	70.3
	95	100.0	94	100.0

*CR "more" 2.2

CR "less" 2.5

CR "same" 1.5

Almost 4 out of 10 television respondents to this question reported that they participated in sport activities less, whereas slightly more than 2 out of 10 nontelevision interviewees observed a decline in this activity. Television seems to have had the effect of reducing overt participation in sports and increasing vicarious participation. One of the sociological implications of the telecasting of sport events is that mass or crowd observation of athletic contests is being supplanted by watching these contests in individual homes. Television of certain sport events has almost atomized the crowd-audience to the point where some promoters of sport contests have protested further telecasting of games until the masses return to the bleachers. One of the principal reasons for purchasing television has been to see athletic contests as the following person disclosed: "My husband likes sports and that's the only reason he bought it."

5. Since owning your television set have you done more, less, or the same amount of pleasure driving?

TABLE 7*
AUTOMOBILE DRIVING

	Television		Nontelevision	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
More.....	15	16.1	13	13.8
Less.....	28	30.1	19	20.2
Same.....	50	53.8	62	66.0
	93	100.0	94	100.0

*The critical ratios computed for this activity are not significant and should be interpreted as such.

CR "more" .4

CR "less" 1.6

CR "same" 1.7

As might be expected, television has reduced the amount of driving, but great caution must be exercised in interpreting the importance of these findings. While 3 out of 10 television families claim that they are driving less, nevertheless 2 out of 10 nontelevision families report a similar decline. Inasmuch as the television families state that they are visiting less and participating in sport activities less, it is understandable that automobile driving would decline some.

Some of the wives of the television group complain that they do not get out of the home as much as they formerly did. One wife commented, "I would like to go for a drive in the evening, but my husband has been out all day and would prefer to watch a wrestling match on television."

6. Since the installation of your television set have you attended motion pictures more, less, or the same?

TABLE 8*
MOTION PICTURE ATTENDANCE

	Television		Nontelevision	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
More.....	3	3.2	13	13.9
Less.....	76	80.0	24	25.5
Same.....	16	16.8	57	60.6
	95	100.0	94	100.0

*CR "more" 2.5

CR "less" 7.1

CR "same" 5.8

The television families report that they are not attending motion pictures as much as they did formerly. In fact, 3 out of 4 television families are attending motion pictures less, whereas only 1 out of 4 nontelevision families report the same trend. It may be of interest to recall that in Table 4 one quarter of the nontelevision families stated that they were visiting more. Some of the decrease in motion picture attendance may be due to visiting friends who have television.

Audio-visually, television and theater films are very similar. The fact that some motion picture theaters have closed their doors in areas where television is popular attests to the competitive dominance of television. The current campaign of the Hollywood industry that "Movies are better than ever" is an acknowledgment of the contest between motion

pictures and television. Of some sociological significance is the fact that the family is home together rather than at the theater with strangers.

7. Since the purchase of your television set do you listen more, less, or the same to your radio?

TABLE 9*
RADIO LISTENING

	Television		Nontelevision	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
More.....	0	.0	17	18.1
Less.....	84	88.4	12	12.8
Same.....	11	11.6	65	69.1
	95	100.0	94	100.0

*CR "more" 4.1

CR "less" 10.5

CR "same" 8.2

While almost 9 out of 10 television families report that they listen to the radio less, only about 1 out of 10 nontelevision families states a similar decline in radio listening. It is significant that not a single television family reported that they listen to the radio more. On the other hand, almost 20 per cent of the nontelevision families report that they are listening to the radio more now than formerly.

Women respondents tend to report that the radio aids them in getting the household tasks done, since it reduces boredom. Few housewives claim, however, that they can do housework and watch television at the same time. It appears that radio may be an auxiliary to many activities in the home, but that television tends to monopolize the attention of the observers to the point where "auxiliary" activities (i.e., housework) cannot be completed.

8. Since purchasing your television set have you done more, less, or the same amount of conversing with family members?

TABLE 10*
CONVERSING AND TELEVISION

	Television		Nontelevision	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
More.....	8	8.4	13	13.8
Less.....	59	62.1	14	14.9
Same.....	28	29.5	67	71.3
	95	100.0	94	100.0

*CR "more" 1.2

CR "less" 6.6

CR "same" 5.7

The above data offer sociologists a good insight into a decrease in basic family interaction through conversation. More than 6 out of 10 television families admit that they are talking less to each other than formerly, while the control group manifests only a nominal decrease in this activity. It has been noted earlier that television families are visiting less, and now it is observed that within the home conversation has been decreasing. It may not be too great a generalization to say that television is bringing the family members together in the home, but not necessarily in a face-to-face relation. In the evening, in many homes, the television set is making the family an audience rather than an intimate group characterized by much spontaneous talking and confiding. Table talk in the evening is greatly reduced so that the family members may rush to their respective chairs to view their favorite program. In some families where they admit "a common interest since television" it is conceivable that television offers the subject of much conversation.

CONCLUSIONS

In interpreting these findings it should be recalled that they are based on a representative sample of a community in the Southern California area.

1. There is practically no difference in the educational status between television and nontelevision families.
2. There is practically no difference in the age of parents between television and nontelevision families (i.e., comparing the age of fathers with television in the home to fathers without television and mothers with television in the home to mothers without television).
3. It is the family with more children that is likely to have television. There is an indication that children demand to see television, and consequently they are likely to be frequent visitors at the homes of neighbors who have television sets. In addition, some parents disclose that they think television programs are "educational."
4. Families with television disclose that they have had an increase in visitors at their homes. It may be interesting to note that families without television sets report that they have had less visitors in their homes.
5. As might be expected, families with television state that they are visiting less, while the nontelevision families apparently are visiting, if anything, somewhat more.
6. There is some evidence that television families are driving for pleasure slightly less than formerly.

7. Both television and nontelevision families report that they are participating in sport activities less; however, this trend is more noticeable for the television families.

8. More than three quarters of the television families state that they are attending motion picture shows less now than before they got television.

9. Radio listening has felt the impact of television perhaps more than any other activity. Almost 90 per cent of the television families indicated that they are listening to the radio less now than before television. Not a single television respondent claimed that he was listening more to the radio now.

10. Television families report that they are reading less, a significant change in personal interests.

11. Finally, television families indicate, in spite of the fact that they are home more and have more visitors, that they converse less now than previously. The television family during the evening hours is changing from a social group characterized by conversation to an audience sitting in the semidarkness and silently gazing at their commercially sponsored entertainment via television.

THE PUERTO RICAN POPULATION OF NEW YORK, NEW YORK

HELEN WHEELER

Graduate Student, Columbia University

The people who migrate to this country from the Spanish-speaking countries of this hemisphere are frequently grouped together in one category. This is unfortunate, because it hinders an understanding of their motives for coming and their reasons for staying or leaving. Those who migrate from the most economically "underdeveloped" republics do so, obviously, for the purpose of seeking better living standards, and these come in considerable numbers. On the other hand, there probably are not many more Argentinians, Uruguayans, Colombians, and Chileans here than there are Americans in those countries. Their reasons for being here are the same as those of the Americans for being there, namely, study, business, or simply travel.

Although there are no immigration quotas for Latin Americans, as there are for Europeans, American visas are hard to get. A very limited number of persons from each country get a "permanent" visa, and the length of other visas varies according to the purpose of the visit. Therefore, the number of Latin Americans who have arrived in this country during the past ten years, intending to live here permanently, is relatively small. The exception to this is the Puerto Ricans, who, being American citizens, are free to come and go. They play, therefore, an interesting part in Spanish American immigration into the city of New York, since they represent the impact of two cultures and its transfer to a great metropolis.

Puerto Rico is more closely associated with United States ways than any other Latin-American country, and the Puerto Ricans are the largest Spanish-speaking group in the city of New York.

Ceded to the United States as a result of the Spanish-American War in 1898, her people were made United States citizens by the Jones Act in 1917. Since that time, Puerto Rico has become the object of interest to many sociologists and historians who see in the island the actual taking place of the impact of two cultures, the tropical and the temperate, and of two races, the Latin and the Saxon. This conflict, together with extreme economic depression in Puerto Rico, has precipitated one of the greatest migrations in New York City's history.

Puerto Rico, with a population of about two million inhabitants, ranks among the most densely populated regions of the world; it is the third most densely populated agricultural spot on the earth, with six hundred people per square mile. More than two thirds of the inhabitants reside in the rural zones, and the population in general depends almost completely on agricultural activities. Seventy-six per cent of the population is composed of "whites," and the remaining 24 per cent, principally, of Negroes and mulattoes.

On passing into the hands of the United States, a marked increase in the island's population was produced, due in part to the high natality rate, but due principally to the lowering of the mortality rate. The high percentage of unemployed is due to three important factors: the density of population, the scarcity of raw materials, and the almost complete absence of large industrial enterprise. In September 1942 about 37 per cent of the active population was jobless.

The workers' movement has not had a great development in Puerto Rico because of the great number of laborers and the relatively poor standard of living of the population. Even during the prosperous years between 1920 and 1927, the number of employable persons always far exceeded the number of vacant jobs. Moreover, the farmers and planters, flattered by the high prices, sold their lands and transferred to the towns.

At the beginning of the past decade the island found itself in the midst of the greatest economic crisis in its history, so that the Puerto Ricans by 1931 composed the entire Spanish-speaking group in the city of New York. In August 1933 the Puerto Rico Emergency Relief Administration was established, and dedicated itself to the economic reconstruction of the island; in 1935 this agency was replaced by the Federal Relief Administration. By 1939 this Office had effected a reduction in the number of unemployed, but in that year Congress failed to extend new allocations for it.

The Bureau of Applied Social Research of Columbia University believes that there are about 160,000 Puerto Ricans in New York City at the present time and that the average age is twenty-four. The main reason these migrants give for coming to New York is their search for economic betterment. In more recent years the Puerto Ricans have come in search of *better* jobs, rather than *just* employment.

Other reasons for migrating refer to their desire to join their families, to attend schools, and to utilize hospitals and other facilities which the city offers. Puerto Rican migration to New York is an example of move-

ment of a people who hope to better their condition. The Puerto Ricans find themselves landless, unemployed, herded into towns, and they look to the United States and New York as means of escape from these economic conditions.

The Puerto Ricans come to New York because of better steamship facilities and rates between Puerto Rico and New York as compared with the Gulf ports. They come to New York to earn the comparatively high money-wages that used to go to the European immigrant groups which are now restricted. The fact that this migration results from population pressure is the greatest difference from the reason for the migration of other Latin-American countries represented in New York. They also come in large numbers by plane.

In addition to the great difference in wages and opportunity which draws the Puerto Rican to this country, he is attracted by the higher standard of living he observes in American movies. Unfortunately, many distorted ideas are also given by these same pictures. Relatives and friends already living in the United States have a strong influence. They draw him here, whether or not they have prospered, for he may simply come to join them, and then too a little appears as a lot. It is customary for Puerto Ricans to share whatever they have with relatives. Ease of movement here is the fifth main motive for the Puerto Rican's migration to New York.

Most of those in the labor force arrive in New York without prior arrangements for a job. Contrary to the recent speculation that Puerto Rican migrants have been brought here by labor contractors, most of them arrive with only great hopes; they do increase their earning power, however, immediately. The migrants consistently earn more money on their first job in New York than they had earned in Puerto Rico.

The New York State Employment Service places Puerto Ricans in industrial and domestic positions. Most of the males find work as assemblers of various products; heavy laborers in the sugar factories; pressers and floor boys in the garment industries; dishwashers, bus boys, pantrymen, and countermen in the hotels; laundry workers, porters, elevator operators and janitors in building maintenance; and many, in shipbuilding, as cleaning, scaling, and painting workers. The International Ladies' Garment Workers Union reports a membership of over five thousand Puerto Rican women workers. In the garment industries they find employment as hand sewers, floor girls, cleaners, and beginning sewing machine operators; in hospitals, as ward aides; in addition, they

do piecework at home assembling jewelry and toys, making artificial flowers, and doing hand embroidery and sewing on blouses, underwear, and lampshades.

Most of the Puerto Ricans agree that their greatest handicap in gaining employment is their lack of knowledge of the English language. Other barriers are lack of vocational training, New York City licenses, tools, and local references. Unfamiliarity with New York's streets and with transportation facilities limits the employment of many to the immediate neighborhood in which they live; but, in general, they are quick to become familiar with the city's transportation, hospital, clinic, public welfare, and entertainment facilities. The Puerto Rican encounters a color line which does not exist in Puerto Rico. He is also at a disadvantage because he is not organized with his fellow Puerto Ricans here, and he is subject to sickness, particularly parasitical diseases and tuberculosis. The professional class and business and trades people are practically nonexistent. Almost all fall into the unskilled labor class, depending upon the weekly wage.

The Puerto Ricans in New York are distributed widely throughout the three boroughs of Manhattan, the Bronx, and Brooklyn, with perhaps half of the total population being concentrated in East Harlem and the South Bronx. It is in these neighborhoods, particularly in East Harlem, that the conditions exist which give rise to the articles and photographs which have appeared in the newspapers and magazines. These conditions are part of the whole problem of slum dwellings—a problem of the city as a whole, and not confined to Puerto Ricans. The general characteristic of their housing is that it is bad, but not worse than the way most of them lived in Puerto Rico, or, if in some cases it is, the Puerto Rican feels compensated if he is able to find the position and opportunity he expected. Many do, and a surprisingly small number return to Puerto Rico permanently.

Free to come and go as a United States citizen, the depressed Puerto Rican sees this great city in motion pictures and thinks it is not difficult to make good money here. Moreover, conditions in Puerto Rico at the present time are such that practically any living conditions and rate of pay would be better than those to which he is accustomed. One reads and hears accounts of the unhealthful crowded tenements in the Puerto Rican sections of Harlem, and it is difficult to realize that many of the occupants still consider themselves better off than they were in Puerto Rico. True, most of these people miss home—they long for the

tropical climate and scenery, for their families and friends, and, above all, for the slower, more easygoing life—but they do not miss the old standard of living.

The Puerto Ricans' problems as a whole are lack of knowledge of English and lack of vocational training. They also encounter discrimination and a color line in New York and must cope with disease, crowdedness, and insecurity. The professional class and businessmen and tradespeople are practically nonexistent. Almost all of them fall into the unskilled labor class, depending solely upon the weekly wage. But Puerto Ricans in New York City, along with other cultural groups, receive the benefits of a much wider and more generous social program than that existing in the majority of communities in the United States.

The Puerto Rican migrants in New York City have shown that they are able to become assimilated and can make good citizens. The "Puerto Rican migrant-problem" in New York has its origin in the island itself; while migration continues, the standard of living in Puerto Rico must be raised. As the Welfare Council Report on the Puerto Ricans states, "The people of Puerto Rico must not be allowed to remain in hopeless poverty, while they are given the supposed privilege of citizenship in the nation with the highest standard of living in the world."

THE COOPERATIVE HOUSING MOVEMENT IN SWEDEN

EMORY S. BOGARDUS

University of Southern California

Cooperative housing in Sweden has developed many of the characteristics of a social movement. (1) It has come into operation as an expression of human needs. (2) It has been functioning to an increasing degree over a number of decades. (3) It has been experiencing various stages, although these have been overlapping. (4) It has exhibited trends, modifications, and experimentation.¹ Emphasis in this report² will be given to the stages which cooperative housing in Sweden has exhibited since its inception shortly after the beginning of the current century.

1. Cooperative housing in Sweden has had its origins in human needs. Housing needs became evident over a half century ago when industrialization began to pull rural people cityward with accompanying housing shortages. Private builders did something to meet this situation, but the prices for houses were beyond the means of large numbers of the migrants to the cities. Rents likewise were too high for the income of many workers and tenure was often uncertain. Municipal governments recognized the need and tried to meet it by long-term loans, but costs and rentals continued to rise. During World War I building activities were halted, but costs and rents continued upward.³

Tenants formed groups for protection against unfair increases in rent by the owners, but the results were in the main ineffective. Then, the tenants began to try a plan for saving money and building their own homes. To this end, they organized tenants savings and building societies. Herein is found the germ of the cooperative housing movement in Sweden.

The tenants savings and building societies saved money, borrowed money on their pooled savings, obtained architects, sought bids from private contractors, and made contracts with the lowest reliable bidders. For some years these societies were weak and faced many difficulties.

¹ See Clarence E. Rainwater, *The Play Movement in the United States* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1922), Chap. I, for a concise explanation of a social movement.

² Based on a brief firsthand study, made by the writer in 1950, of cooperative housing in Sweden.

³ *H S B Cooperative Housing*, Stockholm, 1948.

However, leaders in cooperative housing began to appear. Interestingly enough, this leadership arose from the architectural as well as from the business efficiency angle.⁴ The best known of these architectural engineers of cooperative housing has been Sven Wallander. He has been, first of all, an architect of original ability; second, he has been interested in people who needed houses; and, third, he has been a research person creating new housing ideas of functional value.

The beginnings of cooperative housing in Sweden may be called the groping stage. Small groups of tenants tried to find their way out of an economic situation that produced unduly high rents and prohibitive prices of houses. Individuals who wanted to help people led the way in meeting urgent housing needs that the economic system had failed to meet.

The first stage saw the rise of weak and uncorrelated groups of tenants who by pooling their savings and borrowing thereon at low interest rates from public and private sources were able to go into the building business for themselves on a nonprofit basis. The difference in the costs between having houses built for them on a profit basis and building their own houses on a cooperative basis was sufficient to enable the tenants to provide houses for themselves.

The tenants responded to this procedure also because they became private enterprisers who were maintaining the spirit of personal liberty. They found housing freedom within their grasp. Good housing and personal independence were made possible to them through cooperation.

2. After the groping stage came the simple organizational stage. World War I and its close saw the formation of a number of local "tenants savings and building societies," which for the most part were limited in resources and inexperienced as social welfare bodies. In the years immediately following World War I this stage was hastened by "constantly advancing rents."

The "daughter societies," as the organization of tenants living in given apartment houses or groups of them came to be known, began to join forces. The way was led by the Hyresgästernas Sparkasse-och Byggnadsforening i Stockholm, which soon became known as the HSB of Stockholm. The Stockholm Society set a pace that was followed in one smaller city after another. The organization of all the daughter societies in each city is known as the "mother society." The individual members of each daughter society are members also of the mother soci-

⁴ J. W. Ames, "Cooperative Housing in Sweden," mimeographed document, *Kooperativa Förbundet*, 1950.

ety, one to a city. The control of both is in the hands of the tenants, who are in the process of becoming owners and who control both the mother society and the daughter society democratically and cooperatively.

The mother society has financial strength; it assumes responsibility for stimulating the formation and growth of daughter societies. It obtains building sites, collects savings, borrows money, furnishes architects, and lets building contracts to reliable private builders on the basis of free competitive bidding. All the operations of the mother and daughter societies are nonprofit, for there would be no point in the members making charges to themselves above costs.

In this stage the functions of the daughter member of the mother and daughter societies became clarified. Each daughter society is limited to the occupant-owners of each apartment building or group of apartment buildings or flats. The daughter society, as distinguished from the mother society, assumed the responsibility for administering the affairs of an apartment or group of apartments after the construction has been completed. It has its own management committee elected by its members. Each member makes an initial down payment, usually from 5 to 10 per cent of the expected cost of his apartment or flat. He then pays a monthly sum which is based on initial and operation costs. The rentals are ultimately decreased to an amount sufficient to cover upkeep and maintenance of services.

If a member moves he sells his apartment subject to approval of the management committee of the daughter society and of the board of the mother society. No speculation is allowed. The seller receives back his down payment and his amortization payments. He "makes" no money. He has had good housing at cost and he has had tenure. The tenant has been his own landlord and has not had to fear any unreasonable increases in rent or being evicted.⁵

The organization of the members of each group of dwelling units in a daughter society means that the given families have continued experience in working together democratically. They learn to share responsibilities and they develop a common understanding in many important aspects of life.

The functions of the mother society have also been clarified. It plays its major role in getting new housing under way. It assists in procuring sites; in collecting savings; in procuring loans from the governments,

⁵ Hudson Strode, *Sweden: Model for the World* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1949), p. 204.

city and state, the banks, and credit organizations; in taking charge of the building details, and when a building is completed in looking after the bookkeeping, in auditing, and in giving final approval to the transfer of ownership of apartments. It aids in buying fuel and other needed materials wherever quantity lots are needed.

The chief principle that was established in the second stage of cooperative housing is that speculation in the housing of people is out of place.⁶ It is unnecessary. Housing is so basic to the welfare of the homes of the people of a nation that it becomes one field in which speculators will not be allowed, because tenure will become uncertain and rents will be boosted, often unduly, and tenants and their families, including children, will pay in the last analysis. If A buys an occupied apartment house for \$100,000 and without financial outlay sells it for \$150,000, who pays the additional \$50,000? Has A "made" \$50,000 out of the apartment that he has sold, or has he made \$50,000 out of the buyer, or has he made it out of the tenants and their families who will experience increased rentals? Cooperative housing makes tenants their own dwelling-house owners, frees them from paying increased rental fees, and relieves them of uncertain tenure.⁷

3. After the groping stage and the local organization stage came the nation-wide organization stage. Its beginning may be dated from 1923 or 1924 when the mother societies banded together to form a national association of HSB societies. HSB is controlled democratically by representatives of the local mother and daughter societies. Thus, a threefold organization, mother-daughter-national, came to fruition, and became the basic structure of the cooperative housing movement in Sweden.⁸ HSB maintains a publicity program throughout Sweden regarding cooperative housing. It pools the experiences of all the mother and daughter societies and spreads the lessons gained to all these member groups. It maintains legal advisers. It has its own corps of architects and an extensive research staff. It is not content to collect, analyze, and distribute knowledge concerning cooperative developments, but is active

⁶ In the words of Axel Gjores, distinguished cooperative leader in Sweden, "property cannot be acquired for purposes of speculation" (*Cooperation in Sweden*, Cooperative Union, 1937, p. 184).

⁷ For an account of a somewhat similar cooperative housing development in Norway, see O. B. Grimley, *Cooperatives in Norway* (Oslo, Norway: The Cooperative Union and Wholesale Society, 1950), pp. 151-66.

⁸ Marquis W. Childs, *Sweden, The Middle Way* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1947), Chap. IV.

in creating new architectural plans for meeting the housing needs of workers and their families. Its functioning has taken on many creative activities. Its actions are open and aboveboard.

The National HSB renders important financial services. It maintains a savings bank, assists in securing loans, and sometimes does the buying for a number of mother societies. Where the need is great it goes into production and operates its own factories for producing housing materials for the mother and daughter societies. It encourages the letting of building contracts to private contractors on free competitive bases. It seeks out only reliable builders who will construct houses that will endure. One of the housing principles that it stands for is that houses shall be built not as cheaply as possible, that is, as poorly and shoddily as possible, but as well as possible, that will last as long as possible, and that will give as much value⁹ for the worker's kroner as possible.

The extent of the cooperative housing activities of HSB may be seen from the fact that in 1948 HSB built nearly 7,000 dwelling units for Sweden's urban population of 3,785,000 as compared with a total of 5,500 dwelling units started in Chicago (with an urban population of somewhat similar numbers) in the same year.¹⁰ Monthly charges for rentals run as much as 25 per cent below rentals for comparable commercial enterprise housing. Moreover, private cooperative enterprise housing provides greater amenities.¹¹ HSB operates on the basis that adequate housing is "a basic social necessity for all."¹²

4. The transfer of public housing to cooperative societies may be viewed as the fourth stage in cooperative housing in Sweden. It came about to a definite degree in the thirties because of the nonpolitical, the nonprofit, the private enterprise, and the excellent housing achievements of the HSB societies. In carrying on public housing activities, municipalities had to contend with all the evils of political graft.

The HSB and kindred cooperative societies have established such dependable ethical standards for building dwelling houses at cost and for administering them efficiently that Swedish municipalities have been turning over the meeting of public housing needs to the HSB societies. Thus Sweden has developed a practical way to take public housing out

⁹ Based on comments made to the writer by a representative of HSB in Stockholm, June 1950.

¹⁰ D. and A. Monson, "Ideas from Sweden," *The American City*, 64:85, March 1949.

¹¹ D. and A. Monson, *op. cit.*, April 1949, p. 110.

¹² *Ibid.*, May 1949, p. 140.

of politics, in fact, to develop an alternative for public housing—an alternative that in some important ways is better than public housing.

In turning over its public housing plans to be carried out by HSB, a municipality keeps a representative or representatives on the building committees of HSB, but the major building and administering responsibilities are assumed by HSB. In this way the cities have been meeting housing needs of their people but have relieved themselves of the headaches characteristic of public housing projects. Hence housing has been kept unusually free of political entanglements. Housing cooperatives are a form of private enterprise which in no way signifies socialism.¹³

It may be noted that many municipalities furnish the sites for housing purposes on a 60- or 99-year-lease basis at a nominal figure or they may give the use of the land outright at the time that they turn over the building assignments to the cooperative housing societies. Hence, the cities are showing a cooperative spirit of their own in working with the cooperative societies.

5. A specialization, or fifth, stage has consisted in meeting particular housing needs in particular ways. At first HSB constructed a number of large apartment houses, or "elephant houses," which because of their size defeated functional purposes. However, HSB modified its plans and built the larger apartments so that each family had a balcony of its own and so that each had a view of a lawn, water, trees, or even distant vistas. The writer was impressed on his recent visit to Reimersholme by the ways in which the large construction units on that "cooperative island" had been adjusted so that each family had light, air, sunshine, pleasing views, privacy, and other amenities. The families have responded in many ways, for instance, by maintaining flowering and other potted plants on the balconies or in the windows.

The cooperative housing societies have included playrooms in their apartment buildings. They have furnished workshop rooms. They have provided nurseries and trained nurses and supervisors. HSB, for example, has maintained a Socio-Pedagogic Seminary for training staff members for the playrooms and nurseries.

Sven Markelius, another architect who, like Sven Wallander, the head of HSB, "combines great talent in his profession with broad social vision,"¹⁴ designed an apartment as early as 1935 with a cooperative kitchen and cooperative nursery so that a family in which both father

¹³ Leonard Silk, *Sweden Plans for Better Housing* (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1948), p. 4.

¹⁴ Childs, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

and mother were employed could leave their children in the nursery during the day or in the evening, could order dinners from the kitchen's daily menus sent to their apartments, or could eat in the cooperative's dining room if they preferred. This plan has solved the "baby-sitting" problem. Even Children's Hotels have been developed for the accommodation of parents when one of them is affected by serious illness, when both are called away temporarily from home, or when they wish to take a short vacation together.

The housing cooperatives have developed special housing constructions for elderly people. More recently, however, the whole idea of housing the aged together, even comfortably, has been seriously questioned in Sweden, and a swing of opinion in the opposite direction has slowed up housing constructions especially designed for the aged.

HSB has given special attention to constructing inexpensive one-family, one-story houses of the prefabricated type. They have been built in HSB's own factories and shipped in ready-made parts to various localities at cost, thus placing such homes within reach of the lower income people. They have tile roofs, waterproof basements, and heavily insulated walls. . . . with a full complement of needed facilities and services.¹⁵

HSB and other cooperative societies, such as *Kooperativa Förbundet*, have specialized in designing and manufacturing especially appropriate furniture for the cooperative dwelling units. Space has been conserved, convenience has been fostered, original designs have been created, and all have been furnished at cost.

Mention should be made here not only of HSB but of Sweden's largest cooperative housing society, Svenska Riksbygan, which was organized in 1941 as the building trades workers union's own housing cooperative.¹⁶ With HSB, SR has been represented on special joint municipal cooperative boards in more than forty cities in Sweden. Thus, special facilities for housing have been furnished by cooperation among various organizations, all interested in overcoming housing "conditions degrading to humanity."¹⁷

¹⁵ *Cooperative Housing in Europe. A Report of the Banking and Currency Subcommittee Investigating and Studying European Housing Programs* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1950), p. 33.

¹⁶ D. and A. Monson, *op. cit.*, March 1949, p. 85.

¹⁷ Anders Oerne, *Cooperative Ideals and Problems* (Manchester, England: The Cooperative Union, 1937), p. 143.

HSB and other cooperative housing societies have entered into the field of town planning. An example is the island of Reimersholme, to which reference has already been made and which in 1942 was "a heap of rubbish." Here is an entire island that has been turned over to the cooperative town planners, and which today as a result is a garden spot of homes for working people and their families numbering about 3,000 individuals. The natural beauty of the island has been developed, the houses have been built in attractive style with light, good air, sunshine, playgrounds, clean stores, and premises being enjoyed by all. The daughter societies are carrying on democratically where only a few years ago people tried to live in ramshackle buildings.

The cooperative housing movement in Sweden will doubtless continue to develop new housing ideas, but its next stage is difficult to predict. At present it seems to be settling down to carrying forward a well-tested program of building and administering cooperative housing at cost, in a way to promote the family as a social institution, and in terms of establishing a democratic life.¹⁸

Through its various stages of development the Swedish Cooperative housing movement has come to emphasize the following fundamental considerations: (1) There shall be no financial speculation in housing, for housing is an integral part of home life, and family welfare is a vital aspect of national well-being. (2) Every dwelling unit shall be built as well as possible and to last as long as possible, for in this way home life can be furnished an element of stability. (3) Housing shall be kept out of politics, for it is too definitely a part of human well-being to be undermined by graft. (4) Houses shall be so constructed as to give every dwelling unit an outlook on a pleasing environment and to provide the bases of health for its residents. (5) Housing shall be so administered that healthfully housed families may learn to live together agreeably and to develop an understanding of some of the rudiments of a peacefully developing human society.

¹⁸ Cf. Henning Friis, Editor, *Scandinavia, Between East and West* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1950), Chap. VI (by Charles Abrams).

PACIFIC SOCIOLOGICAL NOTES

University of Arizona

Dr. Clyde B. Vedder of the University of Florida was visiting professor during the summer session and taught courses in criminology and social disorganization. Professor Charles N. Lebeaux taught in the Department of Sociology at Wayne University during the summer. Joseph R. Hambenne of the University of Illinois has been added to our staff as instructor in sociology.

University of California, Berkeley

Dr. Edward L. Rose, lecturer in 1950-51, assistant professor of sociology from the University of Colorado, has been added to the staff. He will teach courses in The City, Social Structures, and a seminar in Political and Industrial Sociology. Dr. Carlo L. Lastrucci, lecturer in 1950-51, associate professor of sociology from San Francisco State College, will teach a course on Social Research. The course on Social Stratification will be taught by Dr. Katherine Archibald, lecturer, fall semester, 1950. Assistant Professor S. M. Lipset is on leave for the year 1950-51 while serving as visiting assistant professor in the Department of Sociology at Columbia University.

University of California, Santa Barbara College

The present staff in Sociology consists of the following persons: Dr. Gwynne Nettler, Dr. Harry K. Girvetz, Mr. Walter E. Conrad, and Dr. Norman E. Gabel.

University of Idaho

Dr. Alfred W. Bowers from the University of Chicago has been added to the Department of Social Sciences. He recently published the results of a seven-year study—*Mandan Social and Ceremonial Organization*.

Linfield College

Professor William C. Smith, for thirteen years head of the Department of Sociology, has retired. Dr. Edwin A. Taylor, who was head of the department in Ohio University, Athens, Ohio, is the new head. Assistant Professor Theodore B. Johannis, Jr., is on leave of absence for graduate study at the University of North Carolina. George C. Fetter, who has just completed his work for the doctorate at Cornell University, has taken his place.

Oregon State College

Dr. Hans H. Plambeck has been promoted to associate professor of sociology. Dr. Glenn A. Bakkum is taking a leave for the fall and winter terms to lecture at Cornell University in the Department of Rural Sociology.

University of Oregon

Three of the Sociology staff received promotions: Dr. Berreman to full professor, Drs. Martin and James to assistant professorships. Professor Jack Parsons spent the summer at the University of Chicago, continuing work toward the doctorate. Dr. Walter Martin completed a seventy-five-page housing survey of the Eugene-Springfield area for the Housing Authority of Lane County. This has now been published. Dr. Joel Berreman attended the Yale Summer School on Alcohol Studies as a representative of the Oregon Liquor Control Commission. Dr. Elon Moore attended the Conference on Aging in Washington, D.C., and also the Social Science Research Council Committee on Aging at Berkeley. He has recently contributed a chapter to the book *Aged and Society*, by the Industrial Relations Research Association.

University of Redlands

Dr. Abbott P. Herman's health has improved to the point where he has resumed his teaching in the Department of Sociology. William Klausner has been promoted to assistant professor of sociology.

University of Southern California

Dr. Emory S. Bogardus returned to a teaching program on the campus after completing a seven-week study of the cooperative movement in northern Europe. The fourth edition of his *Fundamentals of Social Psychology* was published in September by Appleton-Century-Crofts. Dr. Harvey J. Locke is on leave to teach at Uppsala University in Sweden. Dr. Alfred R. Lindesmith from Indiana University is serving as visiting associate professor of sociology in the department. Dr. Lindesmith is teaching the advanced research courses. Graduate assistants in the department are Nick Massaro, Bruce Pringle, and Robert Hall. James A. Peterson has been appointed assistant professor of sociology and will direct the courses on Education for Marriage.

Stanford University

Dr. Frederic W. Terrien, who recently completed his doctorate at Yale University and last year was on the staff of the University of

Illinois, has joined the Department of Sociology and Anthropology. Dr. Felix M. Keesing, professor of anthropology, is on sabbatical leave for the year and will spend time traveling in the Pacific islands, where he will carry on private research and will also attend two sessions of the South Pacific Commission, on which he serves as United States Senior Commissioner. During his absence Dr. Richard T. LaPiere, professor of sociology, will be acting head of the department. Dr. Bernard J. Siegel has returned to the campus after a year's leave in Brazil, where he conducted field work in the study of cultural dynamics in Brazilian coastal and inland communities.

Whittier College

Mr. Ellis O. Merklinghaus has been appointed assistant professor of sociology. He is a candidate for the doctorate at the University of Washington. Miss Marjorie Gregg has been appointed dean of women and instructor in sociology. She holds a master's degree from Columbia University.

RACES AND CULTURE

**YIVO ANNUAL OF JEWISH SOCIAL SCIENCE. Vol. IV. New York:
Yiddish Scientific Institute, 1949, pp. 312.**

The Yiddish Scientific Institute, founded a quarter of a century ago in Volno, Poland, for the purpose of scientific study of Jewish communal life, publishes, among other interesting research material, annuals of Jewish social studies.

Volume IV of the *YIVO Annual of Jewish Social Science* includes a number of studies, most of which pertain to the sociohistorical development of the American Jewish community. Of special sociological interest is the symposium on "Jewish Social Research in America: Status and Prospects," in which fifty-nine prominent sociologists, communal research directors, and workers participate. Among these are R. M. MacIver, M. R. Konvitz, Alvin Johnson, Florian Znaniecki, F. H. Hankins, Pauline V. Young, Sophia M. Robison, Maurice J. Karpf, Louis Kraft, H. L. Lurie, Samuel Kohs, Charles B. Sherman, and Max Weinreich.

The symposium is based on two memoranda by Harry L. Lurie and Max Weinreich, which point out that in the past years research on Jewish life in the United States has been fragmentary, related to practical

and current administrative tasks and problems of welfare agency services and to the fight against anti-Semitism. Mr. Lurie thinks that the little interest shown by the Jewish community toward social research is merely a reflection of the prevailing general American attitude on social research which, being practical, has little tolerance for social theory.

The views and comments of the participants touch upon a wide range of subjects. Professor Frank H. Hankins in referring to Dr. Weinreich's statement that "the universities as a rule are unable to convey to their students that coherent knowledge of Jewish life as a whole, which is a pre-requisite to any valuable study of even a partial Jewish problem," says "that the Jewish community offers unusually abundant materials for the study of many aspects of social accommodation, especially the impact of modern urbanism and science on ancient rituals. . . . materials on the integrative and disintegrative forces operating within a minority group in a culture that claims ultimately to assimilate all to common patterns. . . ." A number of such studies, says Professor Hankins, would give us a fresh and realistic picture of the trends in the cultural, institutional, and population life of the American Jewish community.

BERNARD COHEN

SCANDINAVIA BETWEEN EAST AND WEST. Edited by Henning Friis. Ithaca and New York: Cornell University Press, 1950, pp. xii+388.

This volume, under the auspices of the New School for Social Research, makes available a series of informative lectures on recent Scandinavian developments, Norway, Sweden, and Denmark being represented in each topic covered. The range of subject matter is such as to indicate cultural changes which have been characteristic of these countries; similarities and differences in trends are also noted.

Although several authors have contributed to this symposium, their findings show a remarkable agreement and unity. They indicate, in terms of their special subject, how the people have ventured into new areas of social legislation, some of it in the direction of socialism; yet in many respects the Scandinavians have clung to their time-tested patterns of free enterprise and democracy. Scandinavian culture has therefore been saved from going to extremes, and is, in a sense, "between East and West" at the present time. The Scandinavian peoples have had plenty of initiative for social change, though there has been some hesitation about policies of nationalization of industries. Neither country has adopted socialism outright, but there has been marked interest in

socialism. The wisdom of making haste slowly is supported by the economic maladjustments, particularly in international trade, which have arisen in the last several years. The general topical analysis covers the situation admirably.

J.E.N.

LETTERS TO MY SON. By Dagobert D. Runes. New York: The Philosophical Library, 1949, pp. 92.

Letters to My Son is filled with vigorous protest against the persecution of the Jew. The author postulates that "perhaps the people of the Western World hate the Jew because he gave them so much. The Chinese, Indians, and Japanese never hated the Jew; they never got anything from him." Dr. Runes' arguments are convincing, and perhaps facts may be found to support his thesis. His conclusions, however, are based on generalizations which lack scientific objectivity.

The reviewer is not aware of any study made or of any research in process which deals with anti-Semitism in Japan, China, or India. If such a study has not taken place, the author's thesis is all the more speculative in nature. The book is replete with philosophical discussions, based on a realistic approach to the problems of our civilization.

Despite the sweeping generalizations made by the author, *Letters to My Son* offers interesting reading and is thought provoking; it merits serious attention.

DAVE BIN-NUN

THE EARTH IS THE LORD'S. By Abraham J. Heschel. New York: Henry Schuman, 1950, pp. 109.

In this delightful and attractive little volume the author portrays in fifteen short chapters the habits and customs, the "attitudes toward the basic things in life" as they affected, and were reflected in, the daily life of an old people which was brutally exterminated by the Nazis during their invasion of East European countries in the years 1939-45.

Dr. Heschel, who is Professor of Jewish Ethics and Mysticism at the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, critical of our present civilization so devoid of spirit and piety, shows a nostalgic appreciation of the rich, cultural heritage of a spiritually minded folk, the Jews of East Europe. He believes that the criterion for evaluating a historic period is by how much refinement there is in the life of the people, by how much spiritual substance there is in its everyday existence, and that the pattern of life of a people is more significant than the pattern of its art.

After inquiring "into the life-feeling and life style of the people," Dr. Heschel re-creates the colorful folkways and mores which constituted the spiritual source of a people that lived in East Europe more than eight centuries. By reading this book students of cultural origins and of group folkways and mores will get an insight into the psychosociological phases of a people's unique life and culture.

BERNARD COHEN

JERUSALEM. By Trude Weiss-Rosmarin. New York: Philosophical Library, 1950, pp. xii+51.

This is a synoptic account of the history and vicissitudes of Jerusalem from pre-Biblical through Biblical and post-Biblical times up to the present, with apparent intent to prove that "Jerusalem belongs to the Jewish people by sacred, sanctified and inalienable rights." (p. 41) The essay is consequently interlarded with explanations of Jewish history, religion, and ethics, comments on Arab-Jewish relations, the Crusades, the holy places of Jerusalem, and attitudes toward UN decisions respecting the internationalization of that city. The problems considered are too involved and complex to be treated in such a short volume and from an ethnocentric viewpoint. Happily, the book does provide a clear-cut contour map of Jerusalem and some interesting photographs.

MELVIN NADELL

BECOMING AMERICAN. The Problems of Immigrants and their Children. By Irene D. Jaworski. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1950, pp. viii+114.

This book is the seventh in a series dealing with "problems of race and culture in American education." It is based on a series of social situations involving immigrants and their children in the United States. These situations are presented as problems to be met and solved in constructive ways. The book is designed for use in secondary schools.¹¹ Its materials are to be presented to youth as a means of introducing them in an interesting way to problems of assimilation. High school students are to discuss the problems and the various possible procedures, and even to talk over their proposed solutions with their parents. Some of the specific topics considered are: Why People Migrate, What the United States Offers, Cutting Home-Country Ties, Problems on Arrival, First Reactions to Living and Working Conditions in the United States, Between Two Worlds, Second-Class Citizens, One Indivisible Nation. The book may be used by adult discussion groups as well as by high school classes. The style is clear and forthright.

E.S.B.

SOCIAL WELFARE

THE SOCIOLOGY OF THE PATIENT. By Earl L. Koos. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1950, pp. xvi+264.

The aim in this textbook is to discuss the patient "who has social and psychological relationships that affect his illness." However, in most of the chapters the object of discussion is not a sick person so much as it is the ordinarily well person. It might be possible to remove the word *patient* from many of the chapter headings and substitute the term *person* without doing undue violence to the chapter.

Intended as a book in elementary sociology, the discussions are clear in style, well arranged, and logical. A brief glossary is included, which will be helpful. A "supplementary project" for each chapter is suggested. A reading list of about forty books is added.

E.S.B.

THE SOCIAL COSTS OF PRIVATE ENTERPRISE. By K. William Kapp. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1950, pp. xii+287.

The social costs of private enterprise, as given by the author, are (1) "the impairment of the physical and mental health of the laborers in the course of the productive process," (2) the pollution of water and air and "the progressive destruction and the premature deterioration of buildings and materials as well as the ill effects upon human health caused by pollution of the air by smoke and other wastes," (3) the competitive exploitation of natural resources, both animal and energy resources, (4) deforestation, soil erosion, and soil depletion, (5) technological changes involving the casting aside of vast quantities of durable capital equipment, and particularly technological unemployment, (6) unemployment that is not necessarily technological, (7) the costs to consumers of excessive prices instigated by monopolies and related forms of private control, (8) widely duplicative systems of distributing goods to consumers, (9) duplication in means of transportation, (10) the high costs of sales promotion and of speculation, and (11) the frustration of science caused by the fact that the contributions of science are chiefly expected to increase entrepreneurial profits.

This exhibit of social costs of private enterprise is preceded and followed by theoretical discussion of basic economic and related factors involved. The tendency of private enterprise "to shift a part of the costs of production to third persons and to society as a whole" calls for "a general broadening of the scope of economic analysis" and for "a new

approach" to the practical problem of evaluating the actual costs of the production procedures. Social legislation has done something to reduce these social costs, but the general thesis of the author stands out strongly, namely, "that entrepreneurial outlays are not an adequate measure of the true total costs of production."

E.S.B.

LA SOCIETE BELGE SOUS L'OCCUPATION ALLEMANDE, 1940-1944.

By G. Jacquemyns. Brussels: Nicholson & Watson, 1950, pp. 538+503
+143.

It is particularly gratifying to note that Belgian sociologists were, during the invasion of their country, able to study problems arising among their compatriots and to record so well their findings of conditions. This study, in the French language, covers thoroughly and masterfully the subject of Belgian society under the German occupation.

Volume I presents a graphic account of food and health, contrasting the period before the war with the general decline during the war and rationing. A large majority of the people were adversely affected economically and developed negative attitudes. Food was extremely scarce. It is significant to note that there was scant indication of serious vitaminic insufficiency. This fact has been attributed to the assistance of local and national charitable organizations, to the aid large business concerns have given former employees, and to the extreme thriftiness of housewives.

Volume II reveals the way of life and moral and social deportment. With many members of households being deported to Germany for forced labor, a serious loss of income was felt. Practically everyone sought employment. Women and children who had never worked before experienced the great surprise of independence from their menfolk. Fifty-three monographs give case histories of as many families, showing their resources, sacrifices, psychological repercussions, attitudes toward the authorities.

Volume III, based on letters from deportees to their families, unfolds their living and working conditions. The author of this report has presented an unusually well-annotated study, using hundreds of charts, tables, and graphs. It bears the stamp of authenticity and should become the accepted standard work on this subject.

JAMES BROWNLEE RANKIN
San Bernardino Valley College

THE ROAD AHEAD. America's Creeping Revolution. By John T. Flynn. New York: The Devin-Adair Company, 1949, pp. 160.

Socialist government, according to the author, is being promoted in the United States in the same manner that it was introduced into England, the technique of the British Fabians being used here for similar purposes. Flynn appraises the British socialist experiment and finds it wanting. Democracy and freedom appear to be undermined; the loss of some elements of democracy is attributed to state regimentation. Subterfuges used in promoting British socialism are also noted in American trends. Flynn scores heavily the use of a "welfare state" label for socialist reforms attempted or effected in England or America.

Flynn discusses the socialist invasion of the democratic party and holds that from 1936 on there has been a systematic attempt to change the structure of the American economic system, and, in some respects, even the political structure. He denounces the cult of economic planning, also the socialist subtleties of certain religious organizations or of their leaders. Flynn's purpose in writing this book is to warn Americans that they face a critical choice—whether to maintain democracy and freedom or to allow the "welfare planners" with their gradualism to succeed in converting the American government to a socialist state. J.E.N.

SWEDEN PLANS FOR BETTER HOUSING. By Leonard Silk. Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1948, pp. xiv+149.

On the basis of spending a year in Sweden the author of this doctoral dissertation has presented in words and tables an account of Sweden's struggle toward housing her people adequately. When it became evident that speculative builders, building for profits, could not meet the housing needs of thousands of the people, the Government belatedly stepped in and, making generous loans, came to the rescue of many of the lower income groups. The Government did not take "over the actual construction work or the ownership of the completed dwellings." It turned over the building of housing in considerable part, for example, to the tenants themselves through their nonprofit, cooperative savings and building societies. Thus, without resorting, to any great degree, to public housing or to a socialistic state, Sweden has utilized the private property and free enterprise system.

The author contends that basic economic conditions in Sweden and the United States are similar and suggests that "there is no reason why the same principles of government sponsorship and aid to nonprofit

building associations" could not be applied to the production of one-family and other dwelling units in the United States. He indicates that the basic aim in Sweden "is to provide low-cost housing for the lower-income groups, not to convert the nation to socialism." The book contains many tables and several splendid photographs.

E.S.B.

FAMILY LIVING. By Evelyn Millis Duvall. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1950, pp. xxii+410.

Family Living is designed as a text for high school courses in family life and homemaking. The chapters are divided into six units: how the personality develops, family interrelationships, getting along with people (boy-girl relationships), preparation for marriage, child development and guidance, and modern American family life. The main theme throughout is growth. The material grew out of the questions teen-agers have asked the author and from her contacts with high school groups. Each chapter has factual material, graphic illustrations by Mabel J. Woodbury, suggested activities, and selected references for further studies. It is a practical guide to a better understanding of family living.

The editor Dora S. Lewis states in the Introduction that this book is "central" in a series of textbooks for home economics education. The other volumes will deal with housing, food preparation and service, and the selection, construction, and use of clothing. It is one of the best texts on the family for high school use that has been produced.

M.H.N.

ON BEING HUMAN. By Ashley Montagu. New York: Henry Schuman, 1950, pp. 125.

Following the ideas of biologists such as W. C. Allee and A. E. Emerson, the author develops the principle that cooperation is as much a law of life from lowest to the highest as is competition. An error in social Darwinism is pointed out, namely, that the survival of the fittest in the biological world may be the survival of those who mutually aid each other most. Another error is also stressed, that laws in the biological world do not apply to all of the human world, for among human beings the operation of the principle of cooperation may mean the survival of civilization, while the operation of competition may result in the destruction of mankind.

In seeking for one word which will best describe society the author selects the term *cooperation*. In other words, society is cooperation, and

without cooperation there is no society. The author states "the impulses toward cooperative behavior are already present in him (the individual) at birth, and all they require is cultivation." The mother-child relationship is human cooperation in one of its vital expressions. Cooperation is defined as "the interaction between organisms for mutual support in such a way as to confer survival benefits upon each other." Emphasis is placed on the importance of the 4th r, namely, relations, meaning human relations. Human relations is the most important of all relations and to it must be subordinated other relations. Because of the brevity of the book various generalizations are made without having space to give adequate proof. While at times the presentation is that of an advocate, the author, who is an anthropologist of note, has set forth patterns of social development and given directions which deserve careful consideration.

E.S.B.

MARRIAGE ANALYSIS: FOUNDATION FOR SUCCESSFUL FAMILY LIFE. By Harold F. Christensen. New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1950, pp. xiv+510.

By emphasizing *analysis* the author tried to approach marriage as a scientist would any other phenomenon. The approach is functional and person centered, rather than institutional and group centered. The material is classified under the divisional headings: dimensions, factors, processes, and programs. After an introduction and orientation, the author presents background material on society in relation to successful marriage, personality factors, men and women, sexual perspective, and prediction of success and failure studies. The heart of the book deals with choosing a mate, marriage, mate adjustment, parenthood, growing old gracefully, and living without a mate. The final chapter on programs toward the improvement of marriage is devoted to the various over-all approaches or broad family-oriented attempts to bring about better marriages.

The book is carefully written, recent findings are summarized, problems and projects are presented for class discussions and for further study, and selected readings are given. Those familiar with the subject matter of marriage and family living find little new except in the manner of presentation and the addition of findings from the author's own studies. Since it is designed as a textbook, the author attempted to put at the disposal of teachers and students the basic findings of studies on various aspects of the subject.

M.H.N.

HELPING PEOPLE HELP THEMSELVES. By Wallace J. Campbell and Richard Y. Giles. Number 6 in the Bold New Program Series. Washington, D.C.: The Public Affairs Institute, 1950, pp. 72.

This brochure contains a large number of basic ideas concerning the nature of cooperatives in various parts of the world, such as India, Ceylon, Israel, Nova Scotia, Denmark. In other words, the authors show how cooperatives fit into President Truman's "bold new program" for helping the underdeveloped peoples of the world. Cooperatives "have a place in every program that involves freedom, that requires people to learn together, and work with one another, and that involves helping people to help themselves." One section of the booklet, written by Willard Z. Park, deals with adjustments of industry. The style throughout is popular and the points presented are well chosen.

E.S.B.

COOPERATIVE HOUSING IN EUROPE. A Report of the Banking and Currency Subcommittee Investigation and Studying European Housing Programs. Presented by Senator John Sparkman of Alabama. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1950, pp. 112.

This Report is made by a Senatorial Committee composed of Senators Sparkman, Maybank, Frear, Flanders, and Bricker. It was prepared after the Committee had made a trip to Europe and had visited co-operative housing developments in Norway, Sweden, Denmark, the Netherlands, France, Switzerland, and Great Britain.

It was found that most of the governments whose countries were visited were "determined to keep rents at what is believed is a 'socially justifiable level'—20 per cent of family income," that many of the governments provide a monthly grant to families with two or more children as a means of helping them to meet rental costs, that "it often seemed that we (in the United States) were behind our European brothers in trying to provide adequate housing for our people," that "we (the members of the Committee) did not see any slums that compare with some right in our Nation's Capital," and that a city like Stockholm has bought thousands of acres in and around its boundaries as a means of controlling its housing developments of the future.

It was found that governments have encouraged the cooperative type of housing "because they believe that it affords an efficient technique of economic construction and maintenance, resulting, therefore, in lower rentals and housing costs to the consumer, and at the same time keeps

government out of a field which it has been demonstrated is as efficiently or more efficiently run by the cooperative type of organization than by the government itself." The housing cooperatives, for example, in Sweden, provide low interest rates and long-term amortization loans and "erect large-scale projects with all the advantages of mass purchasing and mass construction."

This study presents a wide range of significant facts which are distinctly favorable to the cooperative housing movement. By contrast, it shows how far the United States needs to go if it would take as much interest in the housing of its low and moderate-income citizens as is being taken by Western European countries.

E.S.B.

RELIGION AND SOCIAL WORK. Perspectives and Common Denominators.

By Shelby M. Harrison. New York: Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, 1950, pp. 20.

The underlying drive of this document is stated in the following sentence: "We in social work have a long way to go to realize all the available resources to be found in religion and spiritual forces; and our religious organizations must advance to reach a full recognition of the obligations to deal practically with plain, ordinary human needs of plain, ordinary human beings."

SWEDISH FARMERS' ORGANIZATIONS. Stockholm: Victor Petterssons Bokindustriaktiebolag, 1950, pp. 64.

In this beautifully printed booklet the activities of the Sveriges Lantbruksförbund (SL) and the Riksförbundet Landsbygdens Folk (RLF) are described in terms of their rural settings and historical backgrounds. SL is a general federation of the various Swedish farmers' cooperatives. Through it "the farmers themselves have almost entirely assumed the marketing of agricultural produce." Through RLF, the farmers' union, "the voice of agriculture is heard on matters important to the general welfare of the farmer." SL is an organization of twelve national cooperative associations of farmers. While its principal aim is to improve the economic position of the farmers, it has also developed considerable social and cultural significance in the rural districts. The document contains a number of excellent photographs, several attractively prepared charts, and superior views in colors.

E.S.B.

SOCIAL THEORY

MATERIALES PARA EL ESTUDIO DE LA CLASE MEDIA EN LA AMERICA LATINA. Edited by Theo R. Crevenna. Washington, D.C.: Pan American Union, 1950, 2 volumes, pp. xiv+100; xiv+98.

The present series of eight articles, in two volumes, in the Spanish language, was prepared to give an analytical study of the middle class in four Latin-American countries: Argentina, Uruguay, Mexico, and Cuba.

The articles are "The Middle Class in Argentina with a Special Reference to the Urban Districts" by Gino Germani, "The Middle Class in Argentina" by Sergio Bagu, "The Concept of the Middle Class and Its Argentine Counterpart" by Alfredo Poniva, "The Middle Classes in Uruguay" by Antonio Miguel Grompone, "The Rise of a Middle Class in Mexico" by Nathan L. Whetten, "Observations on the Middle Class in Cuba" by Lowry Nelson, and "Contribution to the Study of the Middle Classes in Cuba" by Carlos Manuel Raggi Ageo.

According to Germani, it was only after the enactment of the "Ley Saenz Pena," which reformed the electoral laws and provided for obligatory voting and secret balloting, between 1912 and 1930, that a middle class made its appearance in Argentina, which, according to Bagu, is composed almost entirely of European immigrants. Grompone mentions a circumstance that is unique in Uruguay. There industry and commerce began on a small, simple scale, and big businessmen, with a few exceptions, never developed, since their business leaders were men of the middle class. Until recent times no middle class of any consequence existed in Mexico, according to Whetten. Reforms brought about by liberal governments have created small landowners, a large bureaucracy, and an ever-increasing class of shopkeepers. Nelson and Raggi Ageo differ as to the existence of a true middle class in Cuba. The former virtually denies its actual existence; the latter, with more insight into true conditions, observes that it is difficult for a member of the middle class to pretend he belongs to either the upper or the lower class. Cuba has no aristocracy and no nobility. Class based on wealth in Cuba is of so recent a date on that island that no exclusive privileges have as yet been acquired by anyone. It is, indeed, to the middle class that this writer attributes the high level of culture and economy of the Cuban

JAMES BROWNLEE RANKIN
San Bernardino Valley College

CONTEMPORARY ETHICAL THEORIES. By Thomas English Hill.
New York: The Macmillan Company, 1950, pp. xii+368.

The author has undertaken a man's size task and carried it through with unusual facility. In his extensive and intensive studies of ethical theories, he has found six major expressions which he has labeled as follows: (1) skeptical, (2) approbative, (3) process, (4) psychological value, (5) metaphysical, and (6) intuitive. Then he proceeds to trace the ramifications of thinking of various contributors to the field. Special names are selected for brief emphasis in connection with each of the six fields in question. Under skeptical theories, names of persons such as Bertrand Russell, Pareto, and Sumner appear; under approbative theories, Westermarck, McDougall, Durkheim, Barth, Niebuhr; under process, Marx, Dewey, Mead; under psychological value, Santayana, Perry; under metaphysical, Maritain, Mortimer, Adler; and under intuitive, Bergson.

The author maintains an objective viewpoint until he reaches the last chapter, in which he offers some concluding remarks regarding what he considers to be strong and weak points of each of the six sets of theories. For instance: skepticism as found in the logical positivists explains the nature of the basic problem, which is that of discovering "intelligible meanings." Approbative theories insist that "judgments of value rest upon experiences of reflective satisfaction." Process theories point out that moral judgments are helpful that take cognizance of actual changing conditions. Psychological value theories attempt to determine "what moral concepts really mean and how they are related to one another." Metaphysical theories recognize that "conscious experience is the seat of all value and that the personal experience of human individuals involves an order not to be disregarded." The intuitive theories of the realist group possess superior merit in interpreting coherently the actual moral experiences of people. The author urges that the current linguistic confusion in use of terms be cleared up and feels that large numbers of empirical studies are needed. Then the major task of contemporary ethics may be undertaken, namely, "the resolution of differences and the removal of incoherencies relating to the basic moral meanings."

Not all critics will approve the pigeonholing of the various writers on ethical theories, but most will agree that the author has done a good piece of analysis and organization. Social psychologists will find parts of the work significant from the standpoint of motivation and sociologists from the viewpoint of social values.

E.S.B.

THE AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE. Second Edition. By Harry Elmer Barnes and Oreen M. Ruedi. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1950, pp. x+931.

The senior author has carefully revised the first edition of this popular text on social problems. Factual material has been brought down to date and the text has been recast in the postwar setting rather than the New Deal period. Cultural lag remains the basic concept in the book. Considerable attention is directed to the atomization of the primary groups under the combined pressures of urbanization and industrialization.

The text is organized into thirty-three chapters divided among the following parts: historical background, social framework of human life, physical basis of social problems, economic foundations of society, public problems of the contemporary age, communication and public opinion, leading social problems in an age of transition, and social pathology. Some teachers of the text may desire to rearrange the sequence of chapters and thus avoid ending the course with the topics venereal disease, drug addiction, alcoholics, and suicide.

The authors have toned down the harsh criticism of the social order which was so prevalent in *Society in Transition*. A more objective and hence a superior work results. According to these authors, we are approaching state capitalism in the United States. Taxes have thus become a great burden upon all wage and salary earners. Withholding taxes are viewed as a painless method of extracting the tax dollar from the citizen, a clever form of economic anaesthesia. Students and teachers will find this book challenging and one of the best in the field. E.C.M.

THE RAMPARTS WE GUARD. By R. M. MacIver. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1950, pp. 152.

Americans and citizens of Western countries would benefit greatly by reading this book to gain a clearer understanding of democracy. There is a tendency to take our democratic heritage too much for granted, to be indifferent toward certain fallacies; it is shown how these and other threats to democracy stand as real dangers to the American and Western way of life.

Professor MacIver discusses pointedly the issues which are most commonly misunderstood concerning democracy as a philosophy or as a way of life and as a political structure. His exposition is consistently thoughtful and clear, and at times somewhat unique in its analytical approach and conclusions. Though small in size, the book is large in meaning. It should appeal to the layman as well as to the scholar. It is a real contribution to political sociology. J.E.N.

TREATISE ON VALUES. By Samuel L. Hart. New York: Philosophical Library, 1949, pp. 165.

This discussion of the concept of value should prove to be of real service to sociologists and students of the social sciences generally. It points out quite directly what values are and what they are not, in terms that are matter-of-fact; confusing abstractions have been avoided where possible. Values are examined as related to the creative process, with specific application to aesthetic, moral, and religious values. By his synthesis and interpretation, the author offers points of view which define the role of values in social research.

J.E.N.

SOCIAL PRESSURES IN INFORMAL GROUPS. A Study of Human Factors in Housing. By Leon Festinger, Stanley Schachter, and Kurt Back. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1950, pp. x+240.

In this publication, which emanates from the Research Center for Group Dynamics, University of Michigan, the importance of small social groups is examined experimentally in the functioning of two housing projects. While the formal structure of a given society will indicate how laws and institutions bring pressures to bear on individuals, it is in the daily communication of the members of the face-to-face groups that much of the pressure on the individuals is exerted. Some of the problems involved in the latter process are: How and why are groups formed? How does the group exert influence on its members? How do members resist group induction? Under what circumstances does a person become a deviate?

In the study of the housing projects it was possible "to observe, from their beginnings, the formation of social groups and the development of the social processes in which we were interested." In order to consider the details of this study and to examine the ways in which findings were reached, the reader will need to consult the book. However, some of the conclusions may be noted. The most striking result was that friendship formation was dependent on "the mere physical arrangement of the houses." Thus, it will be seen that architects play a large role in structuring the social influences that play upon people. Another conclusion was that "the relationship between ecological and sociometric structures is so very marked that there can be little doubt that in these communities passive contacts are a major determinant of friendship and group formation." It was also found that in the more cohesive groups "there were fewer deviates from the group pattern of behavior" than in the less cohesive groups. That is to say, cohesiveness is an important factor in

enabling a group to maintain a group standard. Further, it was concluded that the spread of information, that is, the direction in which communication will take place "will be determined by the perceived relevance of this information to other people." Many other conclusions are reached, but the authors would be among the first to suggest further empirical experimentation along the lines of study that they have inaugurated.

E.S.B.

THE NEW FEDERALISM. By Samuel Seabury. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, Inc., 1950, pp. 311.

Sovereignty is defined as social authority that rests in the people. Under current tendencies it is coming to be regarded as resting in the state, a result which the author strongly criticizes. A decentralization and redistribution of public power is needed, or else individuals will become small insignificant cogs in a Big Wheel of Government. Freedom of the individual cannot be found in "an all-powerful political state" and by depending on it to protect the rights of all who are loyal to it. Freedom "depends upon the manner in which social life shall organize itself."

By the principle of federalism Judge Seabury means a procedure "through which each individual and group and nation can retain its own way of life while preserving their common unity in regard to their common purposes." The author asserts that "if the prevailing monopolistic and profiteering way of life could be eliminated, the way would be paved" for the realization of a federation of mankind. Federalism is "a relation that tends to unite the most opposite and conflicting interests, and to blend the strength of each to the preservation and stability of the whole." Its solidarity is not created "at the expense of the units that are within the relation." In fact, "it permits and strengthens diversity."

Fascism is defined as "a device of the privileged classes to enable them for a time to preserve their privileges." Moreover, it develops state power "so that it may compel popular obedience by exertion of despotic power over the masses within its own territory, while at the same time it creates a warmaking instrumentality with which to attack other states." The author criticizes much so-called social welfare legislation as being "designed to relieve the masses from some of the evil effects of capitalism." Communism takes over the ownership of all property and "maintains a dictatorship for the proletariat."

Judge Seabury sees no hope that "the monopoly or profiteering system which now prevails in the nominal democracies" or "the fascist

system which existed in Germany and Italy" or "the Marxian communism to which the Russian people are now subjected" can afford any remedy for existing economic conditions. He would have the state limit itself to political matters and turn over industrial and social matters to all the people, the consumers, for "the consumer represents all mankind." He would have a world economy developed, not by trying "to reconcile the conflicts among classes of producers, but upon the elimination of class conflict by recognizing the economic importance of man in his capacity of consumer." Hence he urges voluntary cooperation.

One could wish that the author would develop his ideas with further details. Just how would federalism come about? In what ways would voluntary cooperation be given a chance to express itself? There is no doubt concerning the direction or meaning of Judge Seabury's thinking, but it needs further elucidation in terms of actual situations.

E.S.B.

INTRODUCTION TO SOCIAL SCIENCE. A Survey of Social Problems.
By George C. Atteberry, John L. Auble, Elgin F. Hunt, and Peter Masiko,
Jr. Vol. I. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1950, pp. xxviii+819.

An earlier text by these authors and other collaborators has now been revised and brought up to date. Although the problem approach has not been adhered to rigidly, the book would serve for such a course, the chapters being grouped under five principal headings in the first volume and four other leading subjects in a second volume not yet submitted for review. This first volume deals with basic factors in social problems, social organization, social relations, the economic order, and economic groups—all as related to social problems. To indicate the scope of the work as a whole, the second volume goes on to discuss the democratic process, political organization, governmental functions, and international relations; these also are treated as related to social problems. Obviously the second volume is political in its emphasis, and the first is more in the tradition of sociology. No part or section is the work of any one writer but is a collaboration, due credit being given the author of each chapter.

As the work is quite broad in its coverage and practical in its interpretation, it should provide the student with a useful orientation for sociology. Controversial issues are faced frankly, a procedure which the student is also expected to follow. The publishers merit commendation for their contribution to a finished product.

J.E.N.

CATHOLIC SOCIAL THOUGHT: Its Approach to Contemporary Problems.

By Melvin J. Williams. New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1950,
pp. xv+567.

Professor Williams' account of his excursion and adventure into the realm of Catholic social thought is interestingly told. Able scholarship characterizes the work throughout. In tracing the development of it from St. Thomas, who "synthesized the social concepts of the earlier thinkers and formulated them into a workable system. . .recognized as a framework for the expanding social thought and action within the church," down to the present, the author has rendered a distinct service to all sociologists, regardless of faith. St. Thomas is looked upon as furnishing the "basic foundation for practically all Catholic social thought." Seeing civilization as a unity, nearly all Catholic writers have followed this Thomistic point of view.

Catholic sociologists have made two different approaches to their subject: (1) sociology regarded as a synthetic social science—"a synthesis of Catholic social philosophy and empirical methods, a synthesis of Catholic social philosophy, social Catholicism. . .and what Father Paul H. Furley has termed 'factual sociology' "; (2) "sociology regarded as an autonomous, empirical social science," that is, a science having a definite formal object independent of other social sciences. This being so, the ideas of Catholic sociologists are often conflicting in nature. There are those who stress the philosophical aspects, those who emphasize the application of sociological evaluation for social reconstruction, those who insist upon clinging to the preachings of the Church, and those who insist upon the necessity of confining their work within the frame of empiricism.

Professor Williams makes an attempt to afford the Catholic sociologists a basis for a sociological synthesis in order that their two schools of thought may be brought more closely together. Too long for presentation here, his program will undoubtedly be viewed and discussed with interest by the representatives of the two schools. Nearly one hundred pages of the book are filled with reference notes and bibliographical materials used to support the research involved in its making. This is a genuine asset for those who wish to elaborate upon certain topics suggested by the materials presented. The book as a whole is a valuable contribution to social theory, and the running account of the development of the theory within the doctrinal barriers of the Catholic religion makes for some intriguing and revealing reading.

M.J.V.

LEADERSHIP AND ISOLATION. A Study of Personality in Inter-Personal Relations. Second Edition. By Helen Hall Jennings. New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1950, pp. xvii+349.

This new edition contains the materials of the first edition unchanged except for a few paragraphs in Chapter X, and the appearance of the Appendix as Chapter XI under a slightly reworded title. Then comes a new part, Part Four, which is entitled "Sociometric Differentiation of Groups" and three new chapters dealing with "the choosing process in inter-personal relations in leisure-time," with "structural differences in groups: the psychegroup and the sociogroup," and with a discussion of new directions that group psychotherapy may take in view of the latest analyses of "the choice process." It is pointed out that in the future the individual will be helped by the sociometric method to facilitate the "cultivation of his social space—towards the evolution of a world society knit throughout by inter-personal networks."

The second edition contains data showing how "the choice process operates in leisure-time," and comparisons of the operation of the choice process in leisure-time with its operation in work and living contexts as described in the first edition. The net result is to greatly enhance the significance of "the choice process" in interpersonal relationships. The great increase in pertinent literature is illustrated by the fact that the new edition of this book contains fourteen pages of bibliography in comparison with only four and a half pages in the edition published in 1943.

E.S.B.

SOCIAL STRUCTURE. By George Peter Murdock. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1949, pp. xx+387.

The purpose of the author has been to study a single aspect of the social life of man—his family and kinship organization and their relation to the regulation of sex and marriage. Although a notable contribution has thus been made to anthropology, sociology, and psychology, it is significant that these have been woven together as aspects of a broader integrated science of human behavior. Any such method approaching a Gestalt technique should prove of great interest to the sociologist.

This work should offer much better definition of terms or concepts which are common to the social sciences specified. The author indicates the value of a comparative study of cultures, including those of earlier and simpler peoples. Culture is seen to be adaptive and functional. The author reflects, with due credit, the particular influences of several earlier or contemporary writers, but his own development and conclusions are scholarly and unique.

J.E.N.

SOCIOLOGY. A SITUATIONAL ANALYSIS. By Seba Eldridge *et al.*
New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1950, pp. xvi+720.

This fine quality text for introductory sociology is the work of six collaborators. The organization of the contents, with authorship, may be indicated as follows: the composition of social life, by Seba Eldridge; society and its cultural heritage, by Malcolm M. Willey; geography, ecology, and the community, by Harold A. Gibbard; population traits and trends, by Carl M. Rosenquist; social interaction and social process, by Noel P. Gist; social institutions, by Bretinton Berry; personality and society, by Eldridge.

The intention of the authors is to combine several specialized approaches in the study of sociology so that the student may benefit from such a synthesis and gain a broader understanding of social problems. The "workbook" feature of the text appears to be rather elementary. Particularly commendable, however, is the clear and interesting style of writing, every section being alive and dynamic. The questions which follow each chapter are concise and analytical and should stimulate good class discussion. This book has much to make it a successful text.

J.E.N.

COOPERATIVE PEACE. By James Peter Warbasse. Superior, Wisconsin:
Cooperative Publishing Association, 1950, pp. xiv+273.

First of all, the publisher is to be congratulated for turning out a piece of fine workmanship. Everything considered, the publication of this book represents a new level of attainment that has been reached by the cooperative movement in the United States through the Cooperative Publishing Association of Superior.

In the Preface the author sums up a part of his philosophy when he states that "the way to peace is the deliberate way—through the broad avenues of knowledge, education, social justice, and ethical culture." War is viewed as giving evidence of "an uncivilized condition of society," and hence Dr. Warbasse urges the development of better human relations as "the way to peace." Cooperation is pronounced as "a universal agent giving strength to all the ways of peace."

The author fears that "the advancing wave of socialism may blot out cooperation and delay its resurgence a thousand years," while private monopolies, by shutting out cooperation, are apparently "not aware that in so doing they are creating public disapproval and are moving ever closer to government control and to government ownership of their very own industries."

The book contains thirty-five chapters, organized in several parts. Some of the chapter headings are The Meaning and Methods of Co-operation, Democracy Essential to Peace, An Economy of Service, Forces Promoting Cooperation, Voluntary Action versus Coercion, Cooperative Education as a Peace Method, Neutrality in Class, Race, Politics, and Religion, Imperialism and Races, International Cooperation, Cooperation and Ethical Force. Each of the chapters may be viewed as a carefully considered essay on its particular subject; and all the chapters, taken as a whole, constitute a strong argument in behalf of co-operative activities and cooperative ethics as essentials of a peace-building society.

E.S.B.

SOCIOLOGY. An Introduction to the Study of Social Relations. By Thomas Carson McCormick. New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1950, pp. xii+570.

Regarding sociology essentially as the "study of the structure and dynamics of . . . social relationships," the author has embraced the current social-psychological treatment of the seven aspects of relationships which he considers paramount: (1) social conditioning of personality, (2) social organization, (3) social stratification, (4) social segregation and deviation, (5) culture, (6) social institutions, (7) social change.

Social phenomena subsumed under the above categories are discussed in the light of accepted concepts, principles, definitions, and points of view of sociology. Generally lacking are principles, laws, or analyses of a strict statistical or quantitative sort (with a few notable exceptions as in the case of population analysis). This is consonant with the author's belief that much of sociology "rests only upon shrewd observations and . . . insights," and that sociology is not yet ready for "quantitative presentation."

McCormick's ability to present concepts and definitions lucidly and his generally competent evaluation of the relative soundness of many of the ideas advanced in sociology should provide a welcome beacon to the beginning student groping his way in the fog of the unfamiliar and multitudinous ideas enveloped in the text. The student will also be aided by the questions at the end of every chapter, stressing definitions and familiar examples as a means of clarifying concepts and giving a necessary organizational framework to which details can be pegged.

The volume has some pedagogical defects, chiefly the uninteresting nature of the examples and illustrations employed and the lack of photographs and other pictorial aids throughout most of the chapters.

The bibliography is sound: the author shows a catholicity in his sociological references that underscores his breadth of knowledge (except for his failure to consider industrial sociology, perhaps), and his proper utilization of the classic works does not deter him from frequent resort to the most recent studies available. Everything considered, this should prove a sound addition to introductory textbooks in sociology.

MELVIN NADELL

THE FORMS OF VALUE. The Extension of a Hedonistic Axiology. By A. L. Hilliard. New York: Columbia University Press, 1950, pp. xvi+343.

With professional and lay philosophers in mind as readers, the author applies a psychological hedonistic approach for his inquiry into the nature of value, the significance of the type-value judgment, how judgments of value are related to judgments of fact, and the various forms of value. Though the discussion is first in the abstract, application is also made to the fields of ethics, aesthetics, science, and religion. This treatise is designed to provide a basis for a realistic examination of contemporary value problems.

The author concludes that psychological hedonism provides a basis for a unified explanation of phenomena involving the concept of value, that value is not absolute but relative, and that judgments of value are essentially judgments of fact and open to the application of scientific method. The book makes a contribution, therefore, as a statement of the role of value (and values) in the social sciences and in scientific method.

J.E.N.

HUMAN ECOLOGY. By James A. Quinn. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1950, pp. xii+561.

The book is dedicated to Eubank, McKenzie, and Park and thus follows in a basic human ecology tradition. Human ecology is still in a formative stage, however, and Professor Quinn has performed a greatly needed piece of work with real credit to himself. In handling the materials now available on this subject, the author has put them together in a threefold fashion: (1) areal studies, (2) processes, and (3) spatial distribution. The first two themes are considered to be of primary importance. Some readers may feel that placing the discussion of spatial distribution last constitutes a kind of anticlimax and that it might have been more logical to treat it in conjunction with areal themes. The author has combined spatial distribution with practical topics such as land values, juvenile delinquency, and adult crime. If a part of the

third section had been worked into Part I, then the remainder might have been handled in a Part III in the form of an applied human ecology. The present treatment brings into the open, however, the fact that there are in reality four different themes ecological in nature—spatial distribution, areal organization, processual tendencies, and applied considerations.

The author gives a clear mastery of the available materials, a carefully prepared pattern of organization, and a number of original contributions of his own, such as tentative generalizations, redefined concepts, personal studies of community structure, and research themes. The book will take a prominent position in its field at once and will doubtless maintain that position for some time. It is difficult to see how a better text on human ecology could be written at the present time.

E.S.B.

SOCIAL FICTION

THE LITTLE WORLD OF DON CAMILLO. By Giovanni Guareschi. New York: Pellegrini & Cudahy, 1950, pp. 205.

This little novel is a saucy and impudent account of a running feud between Don Camillo, an Italian priest who will remind readers of Friar Tuck, and Peppone, Communist mayor of a small village somewhere in the Po valley. Don Camillo had "come into the world with a constitutional preference for calling a spade a spade," and his parishioners, many of whom were slightly Moscow bent, were well aware of what measures he might take should they fail to remember where they were christened. They knew of his enormous strength and also knew that it was fortified with some strong physical tools—say like a Tommy-gun—to be used in cases of last-minute defense preparations. The feud is enlivened considerably by the fact that the priest wants a recreation center for his people while the Mayor wants a People's Palace. How they both get what they want through disarming methods is delightfully narrated.

Some of the charming humor with which the episodes are invested arises out of the use of the voice of Christ from the high altar of the village church. Don Camillo carries on lively conversations with his even more lively spiritual adviser. One evening, after having made some explicit remarks about the leftists, Don Camillo was knocked from his bicycle by a heavy blow on his bullet-shaped head. Reaching his church in a sorely aching condition, he immediately repaired to the

altar to talk things over. Christ told him to anoint his head with oil and hold his tongue. He must forgive offenders too. Don Camillo, never at a loss for words, replied: "Very true, Lord, but here we are discussing blows, not offenses." He is finally told to omit politics from the church, and, although Don Camillo assents to forgiveness of the assailant, he is yet making up his mind to search for the giver of blows. Of course, it turns out to be Peppone, and, when Peppone and his wife appear with a new baby for christening, Don Camillo asks Christ if he may give Peppone a blow with the candlestick. His hands are made for blessing. Well, what about his feet? Just one, and with that Peppone receives a veritable thunderbolt of a kick. And the babe is christened Libero Camillo Lenin and not Lenin Libero.

Much of the gay humor in these episodes is underlaid with a vein of seriousness—the business of getting along with people whose ideas are dissimilar. Guareschi makes it an art. And perhaps there is a lesson involved, that of how to deal best with those who like the hammer and sickle. At least, the lesson worked in the sunny village lying alongside the shimmering River Po.

M.J.V.

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